

## **Refugees in the Netherlands: victims or intruders?**

A qualitative analysis on the representation of refugees in Dutch newspapers

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### **Abstract**

*This thesis studies the notion of framing in Dutch newspapers. Different articles from January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017 will be examined, in order to look at the presences of frames. The reason for studying framing is that it has effects on society, politics, news media and the integration of refugees. This thesis mainly looks at the factor of time and the commercialization of Dutch newspapers linked to the frames used in the newspaper articles. A total of 60 articles published in 5 different newspapers are examined: De Telegraaf, de Trouw, NRC Handelsblad, Algemeen Dagblad and de Volkskrant. A qualitative content analysis has been conducted by using NVIVO and establishing different tests in this program. The results indicated that framing in the Dutch newspapers is slightly decreasing over the years. Despite this decrease, there are still a significant amount of frames being used. Two main frames were being found in the different newspapers: the illegitimacy of refugees frame and the human interest frame. The human interest frame was almost the only victim frame that was frequently used in the articles. Especially the intruder frames are present in the Dutch newspapers. This tendency for negative news and sensationalism might be explained by the commercialization of news in the Netherlands. The practical implications of the predominant use of intruder frames might be that the integration of refugees will be negatively impacted. Refugees partially form their identity around stories they read in the media, which could impact the integration. Furthermore, due to the emotional appeal of negative stories, it could affect the tendency to view refugees as a negative influence on society.*

**KEYWORDS:** *Framing, refugees, migration, media research, Dutch news media*

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## 1. Introduction

Europe has for many years been a leading destination for migrants from all over the world. In recent years, the number of migrants coming to Europe has increased significantly (OECD, 2017). The number of refugees coming to different countries in West-Europe, including the Netherlands, is the biggest refugee inflow since the Second World War (OECD, 2015). In 2015 alone, more than 1 million asylum seekers applied for refugee status in Europe (Wike, Stokes & Simmons, 2016). The distribution of refugees has created tension between countries within Europe and within the European countries themselves.

This refugee-inflow has been widely discussed in the media. A diffusion between help and sympathy for refugees on the one hand and a fear of a wave of refugees on the other side was visible in the public discourse. The attitude towards asylum and immigration has become more negative over the last couple of years. The Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau (2016) has discovered that 65% of the Dutch citizens see immigration as a major social problem and are anxious about the arrival of refugees. This negative spiral could be attributed to the increase in the number of refugees coming to Europe, however it is also generally acknowledged that the media plays a role in the formation of attitudes towards refugees (Boomgaarden & Vliegenthart, 2009). Dempster & Hargrave (2017) argue in their research on public attitudes towards refugees and migrants, that the media constitutes the major forum for communication concerning political issues such as migration. The media acts as the public sphere in which a possible public opinion can be formed and relations between established power and citizens take place. This could be a virtual or real-life space where opinions are being shared (Deb & Charvak, 2015). Especially newspapers, TV journals and news magazines are for many people an important source of information on these societal matters (Hamming, 2012).

In a democratic country, such as the Netherlands, the media is seen as a key actor concerning political and societal events (Coronel, 2002). Discourses provided by the mass media play a significant role in the reproduction of public conceptualizations of out-groups and provide the basis in people's thoughts and discussions about ethnic groups. Ideologies are constantly created by new discourses as power manifests itself in language (Van Dijk, 1991). The opinions presented in newspapers, TV journals and news magazines will not only influence the readers, it could also influence the level of integration. News media coverage may lead to the reproduction

of prejudice, racism and inequality in society (Van Dijk, 2012). Recent research has proven that the more negatively news outlets cover minorities, the more problematic people perceive these groups (Kroon, Kluknavska, Vliegthart, & Boomgaarden, 2016). This is also linked to the emotional appeal that information has when discussing refugees and migration. Due to this emotional appeal, negative information is found to have stronger effects compared to positive information (Vliegthart, Schuck, Boomgaarden, & de Vreese 2008).

Refugees and asylum seekers tend to form their identity in a new country around the hostility themes found in the media (Horsti, 2013; Leudar, Hayes, Nekvapil, & Turner Baker, 2008). The way in which the refugees perceive themselves is affected by the identity that they form by using the media. Especially the ‘us’ (non-immigrants) versus ‘them’ (immigrants) construct in newspapers will cause a divide between refugees and non-refugees (indigenous people) and will make them feel like they do not belong to the country (Parker, 2015). Like most people, politicians also tend to get their information about refugees from the media (Dempster & Hargrave, 2017). For instance, the ‘threat’ construct presented by the media, which discusses refugees as a threat for society, has provided a strong rationale for the adaption of strict asylum policies in Australia (Mckay, Thomas & Blood, 2011). These policies have affected the asylum seekers in Australia in a negative way, showing that there are visible consequences of the media representation of minorities, even on politics. Through this effect, media coverage could influence policies, laws and political opinions concerning and affecting refugees.

This power manifestation in language and influence on thoughts and discussions can be researched by focusing on the topic of framing. Framing theory focuses on how the media specifies its attention on certain events and places them within a field of meaning (Chong & Druckman, 2007). To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described (Meltzer, Schemer, Boomgaarden, Strömbäck, Jacob-Moritz, Theorin, & Heidenreich, 2017). The framing effects occur when changes in the presentation of an event or issue produce changes of the general opinion (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Just like a window, people see the world through frames that determine their perspective (Creed, Langstraat, & Scully, 2002).

The distancing of refugees and immigrants through frames has been going on for years in the media. Even in the beginning of the 1970’s similarities were found between anti-Semitic

discourses from the Second World War and immigrant discourses from 1920 (Khosravinik, 2010). These similarities include topics of immigration and social problems, which were defined as a race problem. Another similarity is the consistent us/them divide which was found in most of the research (Khosravinik, 2010). The immigrants and refugees are not part of the society, but should be kept out. This was and is being done by the constant reproduction of existing prejudices of out-groups. Even in recent research, this keeping out of minority groups is present. Kroon et al. (2016) confirm the use of the us/them divide in their research on Roma immigrant features in newspapers. In Austria, media content covering racist discourse was examined in which a 'we' discourse was constructed through self-justification (Wodak, 1996).

This thesis will focus on two main framing categories that have been identified by previous studies: the *victim frames* and the *intruder frames* (Chouliaraki & Stolic, 2017; Horsti, 2013). A common practice when applying intruder frames, is the dehumanization of refugees. Dehumanizing refugees is often being done by discussing them as being illegal (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). In the immigration debate in various countries, the main frames that were found were narratives of threat, group polarization and victimization (Helbling, 2014). On the contrary, the victimization of refugees stresses their helplessness and their role as innocent victims. Within the *victimization* frame, four sub-categories of frames can be identified: The human-interest frame, the positive frame, the support frame and the morality frame. The *intruder* frame can be subdivided into five negative frames: The illegitimacy of refugees, the threat to national or local integrity, the 'other' as contaminant, refugees as a criminal element and refugees as an economic threat (Haynes, Devereux & Breen, 2006).

To examine the use of framing in the Dutch newspapers, it is necessary to understand the media landscape of the Netherlands. With a newspaper penetration rate of 53% the Netherlands has a large newspaper market. Every day around 7.5 million people are reading a newspaper (EJC, 2018). Looking at these numbers the estimation could be made that the news coverage in the daily newspapers about the refugee crisis could possibly have an impact on the public discourse and opinion of the readers about immigration.

The majority of the newspapers in the Netherlands are privately owned and thus market driven. Newspapers in the Netherlands have a discursive power which gives them a nearly exclusive control over the symbolic resources needed to manufacture popular consent, especially in the domain of ethnic relations (Van Dijk, 1991). There are five major privately-owned

newspapers which will be included in this research: the populist right-wing tabloid De Telegraaf, the progressive liberal right-wing NRC Handelsblad, the Protestant left-wing Trouw, the progressive left-wing De Volkskrant and the liberal neutral Algemeen Dagblad. The number of publishers in the Netherlands have dropped from 25 in 1980 to 7 in 2018 (EJC, 2018). The publishing house De Persgroep holds 45% of the newspaper market and the Telegraaf Media Groep holds 35.2% of the market. All of the analyzed newspapers fall under one of these publishing houses (Reuters Institute, 2016).

A downside to this privately owned newspaper market in dealing with competition has been explained by Djankov, McIiesh, Nenova and Shleifer (2003). The authors argue that privately owned media could lead to more biased, less complete and less accurate information than it could obtain with government ownership. Contradicting this statement, privately owned media could supply alternative views to the public and competition may lead to various types of news (Djankov et al., 2003). These two statements are backed up by different theories. The first theory is called the ‘Pigouvian’ theory, which sees the government as maximizing the welfare of consumers and government ownership as the ideal form. In contrast, the ‘public choice’ theory holds that a government owned media outlet would manipulate information and undermine the democracy and markets (Djankov et al., 2003).

There is an important factor related to the public choice theory which could have an influence on the framing effects. This factor is that privately owned newspapers are often businesses not only driven to provide people with the latest news, but also driven by market forces (Guyot, 2009). Since the Netherlands has a privately owned newspaper landscape, this could be a concern. Commercial pressures, competition and other economic pressures have become a major matter of concern to newspapers (Guyot, 2009). Advertisers, private entrepreneurs and shareholders are the main actors who also shape the form and the content of the media, which causes market forces to have a significant role in determining the information filters in the media industry. This commercial control causes some media content to be prioritized over others (Deb & Charvak, 2015). Newspapers have to find ways to please their main stakeholders and maximize their audience (Guyot, 2009).

This drive for competition and private ownership, makes the Netherlands an interesting country to examine. Due to declining readerships, this competition continues to grow over the years. As being explained in previous paragraphs, it is important to take this into account since it

might influence the framing types being used in the newspapers. Consequently, the social relevance of this research is proven, since these framing types can affect the integration of refugees and public opinion about refugees. Besides looking at solely privately owned newspapers, this research will fill a gap concerning the time frame and topic of research. Most of the previous research on framing of out-groups focuses on immigrants rather than refugees and includes mainly countries outside of the Netherlands. This research will contribute to the social issue, as it is looking at the development of framing over a recent time frame. Previous research has measured this development in the past, with a main focus on the period between the 90's and 2001. However, the period that this thesis will focus on, the period between 2015 and 2017, has not been widely examined yet. Another factor which makes framing a continuous relevant topic to research is that framing is not a static concept. Framing can change over time, just as the norms, values, and culture within a country. The frames apparent in a newspaper several years ago can be completely different than the frames being currently present in the same newspaper. This ever changing element of framing makes every research in this field noteworthy.

The missing element of existing research is the comparison between the newspapers that will be discussed in this thesis. The five different newspapers have not been compared yet in the context of the refugee discussion. By comparing these Dutch newspapers, this thesis will fill an academic gap. These newspapers all have a different political viewpoint and are marked as quality newspapers or more sensationalistic newspapers. The difference between these types of newspapers has not been widely discussed by other researches. The findings of this thesis will be applicable to the refugee discussion, since they will give an overview of the representation of refugees in the newspapers and possible shifts in this representation. The findings will be compared with the findings of existing research, to see if there is a similarity and consistency in the outcomes. Patterns existing in countries outside of the Netherlands may appear in the Netherlands and patterns existing in the Netherlands several years ago may still be present nowadays. Moreover, as stated above, the representation of refugees in newspapers can have several consequences regarding the integration of refugees and the identity that they form in a new society. The frames being used in newspapers will also reflect a societal response to the refugee discussion, as opinions in newspapers are often driven by public discourse.

The use of the earlier mentioned frames will be examined through qualitative content analysis of 60 Dutch newspaper articles. This research will focus on news coverage of refugees



in Dutch newspapers between January 2015 and December 2017. This time frame was chosen, since 2015 marked the beginning of the refugee crisis reporting in the news with also a sharp rise in the numbers of refugees arriving in Europe (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). Throughout 2015 and 2016 the media in Europe played a leading role in providing information about the recent refugee arrivals, especially the mainstream media had a paramount role (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). Similarly, in 2015 and the beginning of 2016, there was a high media coverage of refugee stories. However, in the beginning of 2017, the UNHCR announced that there were more than 5 million refugees living in neighboring countries. These numbers show that this humanitarian issue is far from over and this topic is still ongoing.

Through the discussed framing categories there are two ways in which race and immigration can be analyzed. The first one is with an understanding about the effects that these topics can cause. This form keeps the audience in mind and tries to limit negative outcomes as much as possible (Braham, 1982). The second type of analysis is to publish completely unfiltered stories concerning race and immigration without keeping the effects in mind (Braham, 1982). Especially in this last type of analysis, frames can be presented that show the bias of the journalists. The aim of this study is to investigate in what way the refugees were reported about and which frames are being used in that debate including four Dutch newspapers. This will be done by answering the following research question:

*RQ: How are refugees being represented in the five major Dutch newspapers during the period between January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 and December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017?*

To answer this question first the notion of framing will be examined in chapter 2, by explaining the creation of frames, effects and frames being used for this research. This theoretical framework forms the base for the research done which will be explained in chapter 3, where also the motivation is given for the specific analysis used and an explanation for the coding of the articles is given. Chapter 4 gives the results that are needed to answer the final research question, in this chapter the relations between the variables, such as year and newspaper, are presented and are briefly discussed. In the final chapter the conclusion is given, linking the research about frames to the results found in this thesis. The limitations of the research are also addressed in the final chapter. Since more research could be done on this topic, an indication is also given in this chapter for future research.

## 2. Theoretical framework

Framing can be seen as a large process including various aspects and steps, which will be explained separately in this chapter. It all starts with the process of frame building and the different roles of the stakeholders involved. To understand framing, it is important to know what the creation of frames entail and what makes a strong frame. The characteristics of a strong frame will be explained, together with the effects of these frames. Especially the effects of negative stories about refugees are discussed to emphasize the social relevance of this research. With this knowledge, the outcomes of previous researches will be discussed and compared. Some of this research concerns the Dutch media. Most of this research was before the current refugee discussion on the events starting in 2015; however, these researches are useful to understand the background of Dutch media and to have an overview of the findings until the start of this research. Not only studies on the refugee discussion in the Netherlands will be included. There will also be studies which concern countries outside of the Netherlands. These researches can give more insight in the factor of time, differences between newspaper types and the influence of market forces. Lastly, the frames being used for this thesis are being explained, with their limitations and challenges.

### 2.1 What is framing?

#### 2.1.1. Conceptualizing framing

In the refugee debate, the complexity and duration of this debate created a climate of uncertainty about its political, economic and societal implications. This uncertainty left more than enough room for the mass media to help shape the understanding of motives, profile and aspirations of refugees and what their arrival means for countries (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

Concerning immigration related news coverage, the media, including newspapers, does not reflect real world developments, but rather picks up key events that guide further media attention (Meltzer et al., 2017). Through this practice of selecting some key events, rather than most developments, the newspapers are defining what counts as a problem, which is a characteristic of framing. As Lakoff and Ferguson (2006) explain in their research on the framing of immigration, this form of framing has shaped its politics, defining what counts as a problem and constraining the debate to a narrow set of issues. The media both reflects and contributes to the ways in which

the debate about immigration is processed and understood by using frames (Fryberg, Stephens, Covarrubias, Markus, Carter, Laiduc & Salido, 2012).

Framing theory has been widely applied in many fields. Especially by the media, framing is an often applied technique. There are many different definitions of what framing really entails, however many of these definitions have the same characteristics in common. Entman (2007) states that framing consists of selecting different aspects of the perceived reality and making them more salient in a text. Furthermore, framing is seen as a particular way in which journalists compose news stories in order to optimize the accessibility of the audience (Valkenburg, Semetko & de Vreese, 1999). Framing also refers to the way that an argument is packaged, in a way that it is accessible and encourages a particular interpretation of a certain issue (Fryberg et al., 2012). Frames are the narratives that attempt to persuade audiences to understand an issue in particular light (Lawlor, 2015). It has been largely demonstrated, for instance, that exposure to a specific frame powerfully impacts the attitudes that people form (Fryberg et al., 2012). A frame can affect an individual by stressing certain aspects of reality and ignoring others, using selection (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2012). These aspects are made more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described (Meltzer et al., 2017).

Framing is a dual process in which intersubjectivity is of great importance (Kim, 2006). This intersubjectivity considers that people's interpretation of reality depends on interactions, it takes into account the contribution of others (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). In order to understand this dual process, more explanation is needed about the processes framing entails, particularly focusing on frame-building. The process called frame-building is the application of frames by the media (Helbling, 2014). Frame-building focuses on how the media makes use of specific frames. It also looks at how specific topics, such as migration, are being framed. The role of the journalists in this frame-building is evident, since they are the ones who provide contextual cues for interpretation (Helbling, 2014). The frames being provided by the news media change the weight which we assign to certain beliefs and can alter our understandings. The frame building process will be the key element in this research, since the focus will be on the use of frames by the news media.

The frame-building process is not a one-sided process, solely focusing on the journalists. Framing is seen as an interactive process between journalists and the audience in which social

reality is being constructed (Hamming, 2012). This process consists of two sides: the media discourse and the public opinion (Scheufele, 1999). The media discourse is part of the process by which individuals construct meaning out of the frames, being the independent part. Very often the audience has no influence on the media content itself, mainly in traditional media outlets (e.g. print media). The public opinion is part of the process by which journalists develop and crystallize meaning in public discourse, being the dependent component (Scheufele, 1999). The media content and public opinion are being influenced by the meanings introduced in public discourse by the journalists. Framing effects are the result of this two-sided discursive process between the audience and the journalists. However, some argue that a frame is more than the media and public discourse. Besides the audience and the journalists, the frame could also be affected by the organizational and modality constraints and professional judgments about the audience, since the newspaper will alter the frames to align with the target audience (Scheufele, 1999).

The dual process of framing shows that the actual power is in the hands of news media. They can limit and define a story and can include or exclude certain material. The frames that journalists use partly determine whether a topic becomes a problem, what the cause is of the problem and how it can be solved (Hamming, 2012). However, it also shows the active role of the readers. The communication process is seen as an interactive and interpretative flow, which relates to the social constructivism theory (Van Gorp, 2004). This theory states that people give meaning to their surroundings and that social processes play a significant role in this meaning-making process. It emphasizes the importance of culture and context in understanding what happens in society and states that knowledge is based on this understanding (Kim, 2006). Personal meanings are being shaped through the intersubjectivity of the community to which people belong (Kim, 2006).

Based on this theory, the definition of a frame that will be adopted for this thesis is the following: *A frame is a steadfast, metacommunicative message which represents the structuring idea that defines the meaning of a news message* (Van Gorp, 2004). The term framing represents the process in which the cohesion and meaning of a message is created. *Framing is the process in which a frame determines which elements are selected from the perceived reality, which ones are excluded, emphasized or to be supplemented. Also, a frame provides the readers with a context and meaning of the story* (Van Gorp, 2004).

The components of these definitions need to be better defined in order to fully comprehend the concepts. The meaning of steadfast is that a frame has a persistent character, however it can change throughout time (Van Gorp, 2004). This change may occur through the creation of sub frames or the extension of a frame's meaning. The meta communicative message means that the frame is presented with a message that is implicitly or explicitly present in a news article and that is meant to encourage the reader to interpret the article according to the frame (Van Gorp, 2004). The structuring idea is related to the relation between different elements (frames or reasoning devices) in the news article. Most likely one frame will dominate, but there might be different sub frames present (Van Gorp, 2004). It should be noted that with all of these points the frame has a persuasive character, but the result of the frame is not pre-determined. The active audience can choose to reject the frame and 'reframe' the message in the news article. Taking this approach as a base, framing theory is useful for this research since it could explain to what extent the media tries to affect citizens' perception of refugees.

### 2.1.2 What makes a strong frame?

After conceptualizing framing in the media, the next step is to look at the characteristics of frames. There are various factors that can establish a strong frame. Strong frames emerge from public discussion as being the best rationales for contending positions on different issues (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Opinion leaders and the audience are seen as being more compelling than alternative arguments. The best tactic is to link a frame to a general and widely spread idea across the country. For example, when the tendency in the Netherlands exists that people feel less safe in their neighborhoods, a strong frame will link refugees to this topic as being a cause of the problem.

Another strong aspect of a frame is that many newspapers make use of the same sources for their information. This causes the same frame to appear in different news articles in different newspapers, which makes it more credible (Van Gorp, 2005). Within the article, a strong frame is backed up by different framing devices, such as words referring to the frame, visuals, metaphors, arguments and stereotypes (Van Gorp, 2005). These devices are used to support the employment of a specific interpretational lens in the news articles by emphasizing certain aspects of an issue and ignoring others (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). The most frequently used device for this are metaphors. Immigrants are discussed in relation to massive quantities and elemental forces such as water and flooding, e.g. discussing the refugee flood (Greussing &

Boomgaarden, 2017). It associates immigration with powerlessness against the magnitude of newly arriving people and the costs or expenses of refugee services. Moreover, these metaphors dehumanize refugees depicting them as being anonymous (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

How these frames are produced is being explained by a model of elite strategies of framing (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The cascade model developed by Entman (2004) provides a base for this theory. This model focuses on foreign policy issues and shows that frames originating from the government and administration shape frames used by other media outlets. However, the reaction of the public to the original frame has its effect on the media, which will influence the view of the government and administration. This shows that there is a vicious circle, where different actors have an influence and anticipate on one another in the creation of frames (Chong & Druckman, 2007). An example to explain this model better in the context of this research, originates from the prime minister of the Netherlands Mark Rutte. In an open letter to all Dutch citizens he stated that he understands the frustration of some Dutch citizens, referring to refugees and immigrants who do not share and comply with the Dutch values and traditions. He also stated that he rather sees these people leaving the country when they cannot act 'normal'. After this letter, which was published on social media and in many newspapers, there was a massive flow of criticism towards the prime minister labelling the refugees as not being normal and generalizing a giant group of people in a negative way. Dutch citizens with a migration background responded to the letter by saying that they feel that Mark Rutte is fueling the us/them divide by this letter (Thierauf, 2017). This criticism was taken over by the newspapers and many articles were written about politicians and Dutch people constantly blaming immigrants for failures in the Netherlands. Mark Rutte responded to his letter and the statements that he made and he acknowledged that he could have added more nuance. He explained the letter in a more extensive way to counter the criticism.

This example shows the intertwined network of actors concerning framing. The prime minister used the printed media to publish his framed view on immigrants. A view which was then countered by the public and by the same newspapers. The influence in this network is not a one-way stream, however there is an asymmetrical influence (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The media and the audience both have an influence in the establishment of frames. The frames of the news media are chosen while keeping their audience in mind, so the preferences of their audience will have a strong influence on the frames used (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

### 2.1.3 Framing effects

The previous paragraphs have shown that the media plays a significant role in the way people perceive immigration. Even though this research is not focusing on the effects of framing, it is important to highlight these effects in order to value the importance of the research. Since immigration is a subject that is being highly discussed in politics, the media could be seen as a political player in this case. There are two theories about the influence of the media on citizens and politics. Norris (2000) states that the media is an intermediary between citizens and politicians. The news media has the power to reinforce engagement of citizens in political issues such as migration. However, according to Meyer (2002) the media is an active political player who decides what is newsworthy and how the news is being presented. Because of this power, the media should be taken seriously as a political player which has a high influence on attitudes and opinions of the readers.

Complementing this last theory, is the research on the effect of framing. Framing effects are defined as changes in judgments of the readers, engendered by subtle alterations in the definition of judgment or choice of problems (Iyengar, 1987). According to dominant western news values the media favors stories about negative events, since they are recalled better especially in the case of out-group members (Rothbart, 1981). The effect of these negative framed stories is even bigger because of the emotional appeal as being explained in the introduction. Consequently, these framed stories have an enormous impact on the level of integration. This has been mentioned in the introduction, however it is important to highlight this effect. An interesting finding by Bos, Lecheler, Mewafi, and Vliegenthart (2016) is that in the Netherlands, frames that see especially the Islam as a threat are often used together with frames that see Muslim women as a victim of gender inequality and oppression. The use of these frames hinders especially this group of Muslim refugees from participation in the Dutch society. This study has also shown that negative stories have negative effects and lead to less support towards immigrants, however positive stories might have no impact on the attitude towards immigration (Bos et al., 2016).

In Western European countries there are no dominant counter-ideologies or anti-racist forces that are as strong to counterbalance the messages in the media (Van Dijk, 2012). Anti-racist positions are proven by research to be ignored or censored, or to be limited (Murray, 1986). As negative media messages are being sent out, the minority groups are forced into forms

of resistance that attract more public attention. This will capture the attention of journalists since they are consistent with the news values (negativity and violence) and ethnic prejudices (minorities are deviant and violent) (Van Dijk, 2012). This again creates a vicious circle, where negative stories will force resistance of minority groups which in return will create more negative stories.

Moreover, negative stories have an effect on the memorization of certain articles. People tend to remember negative stories better than positive ones (Van Dijk, 1989). There is a feeling that people have about hearing stories concerning refugees and minority groups all the time in the news. Different researchers have examined if refugees are as frequently discussed in the media in Europe as people believe. Hartmann, Husband and Clark (1974) found out that on an average of 1 news item per day in the British newspapers was related to racial issues. In the period between 1976 and 1978 this amount was increased already to 1.3 news items per day (Troyna, 1981). In Germany this amount was even 2 news items per newspaper issue about foreign workers and refugees (Ruhrmann & Kollmer, 1984). The Dutch press has an average of 1.8 articles per day where minority groups are topic of discussion (Van Dijk, 2012). Even though these numbers come from early studies, it can be stated that minority groups are regularly discussed, but not with an impressive number. Especially concerning the study from the Netherlands, which was published in a year where minority groups were often discussed. Furthermore, the number of stories does not depend on the amount of citizens with a migration background living in a country. Even though the number of stories is not as much as expected, the stories that are out there are being memorized by people because of their negative tone (Van Dijk, 1989).

Closely linked to these negative framed stories in the media and its effects is the subject of racism. Not the sort of racism that is overt and violent, involving verbal and physical abuse. Framing could contain a much more subtle, covert and insidious form of racism, called the 'new racism' (Teo, 2000). People who practice this form of new racism often deny that they are racist and believe in the basic values of democratic egalitarianism. This theory states that all people should be treated as equals. However, practitioners of new racism speak or act in a way that distances them from an ethnic minority, blaming this group for their circumstances on their own social, economic and cultural disadvantage (Teo, 2000). Straight forward, this means that if a certain ethnic minority perceives themselves as being economically disadvantaged and socially



marginalized, according to new racism it is their fault and not the fault of society.

However, framing cannot be seen as just being negative, fueling racism and focusing on the negative aspects of the discussion about refugees. Framing can also be explained in positive terms. It can be referred to as a learning process in which people acquire common beliefs, as in the coordination of people around a social norm (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Collective action problems are very often overcome by developing shared frames about their predicament and agreeing on the best course of action. The negative tendency is present since there is the assumption that popular preferences are being manipulated by the news media to serve their own interests (Chong & Druckman, 2007). The problem with this assumption is that it neglects the fact that attitudes and opinions are also formed because of framing. Competing frames are being selected or rejected in order to form a public opinion. Discussions and debates about these competing frames may lead to new information or new insights. Changing an opinion because of framing is not always problematic when it results in recognition and acceptance of good arguments that causes individuals to change their preferences (Chong & Druckman, 2007).

## 2.2 Framing immigration in the news

Before examining framing in the current refugee discussion in the Netherlands, it is important to investigate the researches done before this time frame. When analyzing framing in the media numerous factors can play a role. To examine these factors, researches including countries outside of the Netherlands will be discussed. This section will look at the differences in framing between countries, the difference between types of media, the influence of market forces and the influence of time. Especially this last factor will play a significant role in this research.

Previous research has revealed many differences and similarities regarding the framing of refugees and immigrants in European media outlets. Roggebrand and Vliegthart (2007) state that in the Netherlands the biggest focus is on the islam-as-a-threat frame. This frame sees the culture and religion of migrants as a problem and threat to the values of Western civilization. Immigrants are seen as being too passive in their efforts to integrate into Dutch society (Roggebrand & Vliegthart, 2007). There were clear peaks using this frame around the attacks on the World Trade Centre in New York in 2001. This is being confirmed by Hamming (2012), who researched the Dutch media coverage on minorities and found several returning themes in the discursive practices: criminality, unemployment, integration and culture and nuisance. Especially minorities coming from Muslim countries, such as the refugees from the Middle East,

are being connected to criminality more than others (Sibon, 2005). The us/them discourse that has been recognized by many scholars, is also found to be apparent in the Dutch media (Hamming, 2012). The newspapers particularly used cultural frameworks to discuss minorities and predominantly focused on their connection with criminality. However, Helbling (2014) discovered that the overall moral universal frames are applied most often, rather than cultural, nationalistic, economic or security arguments. These moral universal frames are referring to universal moral values, such as to be honest, respect all life, do not steal and other often Christian values (Horsti, 2013). An example of a moral universal frame is the humanitarian frame, which focuses on the humanitarian rights and basic political rights of people (e.g. democracy, participation). Complementing these findings, Helbling (2014) also states that in comparison to Switzerland, France, Germany, UK and Austria, the Netherlands has the most multicultural arguments when discussing immigration in newspapers. France has the most nationalistic arguments and Germany the most moral universal arguments. At the same time, according to d'Haenens and de Lange (2001) the most frequently used frame in the Netherlands is the human-interest frame, which focuses on the emotional and personal perspective of immigration stories.

However, Eberl, Heidenreich, Boomgaarden, Herrero, Berganza, Allen, and Bajomi-Lazar (2017) in their study on discourses on Intra-EU mobility and non-EU migration in European media coverage argue that in Europe 'migrants and immigrants' are closely associated with the frame of economic threat, while the terms 'refugees and asylum seekers' are associated with an economic burden. In line with this, d'Haenens and de Lange (2001) claim that in the Netherlands news coverage regarding immigrants focuses on conspicuous incidents and sensational conflicts, which creates a negative image of immigrants.

Whenever integration issues are debated, cultural aspects are found to be more salient than economic issues in Europe as stated by Helbling (2014). In the immigration debate, the opposite is present, economic concerns are more salient than multicultural justifications. Security arguments are more important in the specific integration debate than the overall immigration debate. Furthermore, Helbling (2014) found that in many previous studies about immigration in various countries, the main arguments were developed within narratives of threat, group polarization and victimization. However, there were not only negative findings in the study of Helbling (2014). In some cases, there was also background information provided to gain a better

understanding of the context and a humanitarian stance was often emphasized.

Even though differences were found in the findings of previous discussed studies, Roggenbrand and Vliegthart (2007) state that the frames in the media are found to have a low variation, especially in the Netherlands. The types of frames being used in different Dutch newspapers tend to appear to be similar. This is due to the high competition and selectiveness in the use of frames. Another factor that influences the similarity in frames is the publication of unedited articles created by news agencies and interest parties. Journalists have to deal with time pressure and understaffing because of the market forces and competition in the industry, which gives external parties the chance to sell their story (Hijmans, Schafraad, Buijs & d'Haenens, 2011). News can in this way be seen as a product which is being sold in various markets. Sources are selling their information to journalists in exchange for public attention.

As being explained in the introduction, the high competition in the news industry is related to the fact that newspapers are driven by market forces, which causes them to primarily serve the interest of the elite instead of the population (Bergman, 2014). Advertisers, private entrepreneurs and shareholders are the main actors who also shape the form and the content of the media, which causes market forces to have a significant role in determining the information filters in the media industry. With this commercialization comes an increase in immigration stories that appeal to central news values of conflict, emotion and drama and it causes some content to be prioritized over others (Deb & Charvak, 2015). Frames that are often used to evoke the feeling of conflict and drama are economic threat frames or dehumanizing frames, which sees the refugee as being illegal (Deb & Charvak, 2015).

Early research on national and regional newspapers in the Netherlands by van Dijk (1983) showed that news coverage is a reflection of the viewpoints of the majority group and its institutions such as the government, police and justice department. With regard to minority groups, newspapers predominantly focused on conspicuous incidents and sensational conflicts, hereby creating a negative image. Asylum seekers and refugees are mainly generalized in Dutch newspapers according to the study done by Muijsers (1998). More important is the choice of words in these newspapers, which mainly have a negative connotation, such as flood or crisis (Muijsers, 1998). Since these sources are dated more than 20 years back, this thesis will reinvestigate these claims to see if they are still applicable to the Netherlands.

Another factor driving sensationalism in the newspaper market, is the decline in

readerships (Schaap & Pleijter, 2012). From the 70's onwards there has been a decline in readership of Dutch newspapers, in the years from 2000 until 2016, there was an average drop of 5 percent every year in the circulation of newspapers (EJC, 2018).

Looking at the numbers concerning the readerships of these newspapers, the following facts can be given. De Volkskrant had a growth of 5.4% in the amount of readers in 2015. Together with Trouw, which had a growth of 4.5%, these newspapers were the only ones with a growth in their readerships. The rest of the newspapers all had a decline in readerships in 2015. De Telegraaf had a decline of 7.7%, het Algemeen Dagblad had a decline of 2.9% and NRC Handelsblad had a decline of 6.5%. All of these numbers can be found in Appendix D1.

In 2016 all of the newspapers had to deal with a decline in readerships. De Telegraaf had a decrease of 8% in 2016. Het Algemeen Dagblad had a decline of 6% in readers and Trouw a decline of 2% in readers. De Volkskrant lost 3% of its readers and NRC Handelsblad had a decline of 5% of its readers. These numbers can be found in Appendix D2.

These numbers show that all of the newspapers have to deal with a decline in readerships. De Telegraaf has the biggest decline of all newspapers, followed by NRC Handelsblad and Algemeen Dagblad. De Volkskrant and Trouw have only had a decrease in 2016, after having a year of increase in memberships. The numbers of 2017 are still unknown. Combining these numbers with the notion of sensationalism, which tends to increase due to competition and commercialization, it could be assumed that this decline in readership causes the newspapers to be in need of sensational news (Huysmans, de Haan & van den Broek, 2005).

Sensationalistic frames are the negative intruder frames, since negative news is proven to be better memorized by the audience. By targeting the audience on their emotions, this frame tries to draw their attention and interest. It is believed that sensationalistic newspapers make more use of frames than other newspapers. Since sensationalism itself is already a form of bias, where stories are being overhyped in order to get attention, it is more likely that this bias will also occur through the use of frames.

A news article with a striking headline or sensational photo will be more likely to draw the attention than an article with a neutral tone (Schaap & Pleijter, 2012). All of these elements caused by the market forces driving the newspapers in the Netherlands should be kept in mind, since they could influence the frames being present in the articles. It is the role of the journalist to be resistant to the market forces, check the facts and make sure that the story is as objective as

possible.

The assumption about the increase in sensationalism due to commercial pressures is being confirmed by d'Haenens and de Lange (2001), who compared commercial and non-commercial newspapers in the Netherlands. De Volkskrant as a commercial newspaper, makes more use of the opportunity to express criticism and publish sensation based stories concerning immigration. Moreover, the news in de Volkskrant is mostly written from one certain viewpoint, rather than giving various opinions.

Accordingly, the outcomes of a recent study by Greussing and Boomgaarden (2017) on the difference between tabloids and quality newspapers in the portrayal of frames support this assumption. Tabloids are more concerned about the criminality aspect of refugee migration, while quality newspapers employ different types of frames (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). However, in the UK the economic frame, social benefits frame and employment frame are most strongly used in tabloid media. The educational frame (less negative) and the EU policy frame (constructive frame) are more salient in quality media (Eberl et al., 2017). The victimization frame was found more often in quality newspapers than in tabloids. The coverage in tabloids is more negative than in quality newspapers. However, only in Austria there was no difference found between tabloids and quality newspapers (Eberl et al., 2017). For this research, only the Telegraaf will be marked as a tabloid newspaper.

Within both the tabloids and the quality newspapers the news coverage on immigration was stable for a long time in Germany and the Netherlands. This changed in 2001, the year of the attacks on the World Trade Centre. After these attacks there was a peak in the news coverage on immigration (Eberl et al., 2017). A second peak appeared in 2015, when many refugees arrived at European shores due to humanitarian crises in various countries outside of Europe, such as Syria.

The shift in attitude after the year of the attacks on the World Trade Centre has been confirmed by a survey presented in FSI (2001). On the question “What do you think about immigrants?” it appeared that the attack on 9/11 had caused an obvious shift in the opinions of the participants. From 51% of the people giving a positive answer to the question before 9/11, only 33% remained positive after the attacks. FSI (2004) also presented the results of a longer time perspective questionnaire. In 2000, 48% of the respondents were positive towards immigrants, with only 39% remaining positive in 2002.

In more recent years, the attitude towards refugees has again shifted. It has been found by Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) that at the beginning of 2015 there were sympathetic and empathetic responses to the refugees in the press. However, this shifted to suspicion and hostility towards refugees by the end of 2015. This negative feeling remained the same throughout 2016 (Georgiou & Zaborowski, 2017). These findings are confirmed by Bos et al. (2016) in their research on framing effects in the Netherlands. They found that there was a shift from being multiculturalist in the 1980s, via stressing the socioeconomic participation of immigrants in the 1990s to seeing immigration as a threat after 2001.

De Vogel (2016) has examined several key events in the refugee discussion and their impact on framing in newspapers. These key events consisted of photos being shared in the media, harassments by refugees in Germany, large numbers of refugees dying at sea, attacks in Paris linked to refugees and other events. Around all of these events there were peaks in the number of articles discussing refugees. A reversed research was also done by first looking at the peaks in the number of articles and searching for key events corresponding with the dates of these articles. Again, the results showed that there was an increase in newspaper coverage on refugee related stories around events that were highly discussed in the media. Throughout the years examined by the research of de Vogel (2016), which included 2015 and 2016, a key finding was that the 'othering' of refugees has increased. A reason for this could be that after every event, a reason was sought for the particular event. In this explanation, the refugees were mostly depicted as the other and seen as an out-group. The importance of the factor of time in combination with key events, is also confirmed by Sulaiman-Hill, Thompson, Asfar and Hodliffe (2011). In their research on the representation of refugees in Australian and New Zealand newspapers from 2000 until 2008, they found that there were peaks in the amount of newspaper articles discussing refugees after 2001 and 2007. During periods of heightened awareness of refugee issues, there were more articles concerning refugees (Sulaiman-Hill et al., 2011). The types of frames around these periods were more negative than in other periods. This corresponds with the findings in FSI (2001), as discussed in an earlier paragraph. Overall, the outcomes of previous research have shown that with more key events being discussed in the media, the amount of negative frames being present in newspapers could increase. With the refugee discussion being overly represented in the media in the period of 2015 until 2017, this thesis will examine if the amount of negative framing has also increased.

The different newspapers that will be researched are the most popular in the Netherlands and all have different political viewpoints, which could result in different frames being used in the newspapers. De Volkskrant is known to be a left and socialistic newspaper which leans more towards sensationalism. The NRC Handelsblad is a right leaning newspaper being more liberal and known for its quality. De Telegraaf and Algemeen Dagblad are both more in the centre, leaning towards the right being populistic and very easy to read. These last two newspapers are known to be very accessible and popular among the less educated part of the population. The last newspaper, de Trouw, is known to be left with a protestant background (EJC, 2018).

The above described political viewpoints of the newspapers, could have an influence on the frames being used. The assumption is made by different researches that the more left a party is, the more attention it gives to asylum seekers and refugees (Roggebrand & Vliegenthart, 2007). Helbling (2014) has argued that left newspapers will make more use of positive victim frames, where the positive characteristics are being discussed from a humanitarian viewpoint. The right-wing newspapers are more likely to focus on the refugees as intruders, and discuss their negative characteristics.

### 2.3 Characterizing the types of news frames

In the extensive scholarly work some key themes and frames recur over time in the field of media research. This research will focus on a study done by van Gorp (2005), which introduced the distinction between the intruder frame and the victim frame concerning the discussion about refugees in the media. These two frames show the difference between highlighting the positive and the negative characteristics of refugees. Van Gorp (2005) discussed the use of the innocent victim frame in Belgium regarding asylum seekers, which focused on more positive or neutral characteristics. Refugees will be depicted by a frame that refers to the archetypical role of the innocent victim (Van Gorp, 2005). On the other hand, the asylum seekers can also be discussed using the theory that all strangers are intruders (Van Gorp, 2005). This intruder view of people is used when seeing the other as a threat to one's own cultural and economic achievements. The misuse of the words asylum-seekers, refugees and illegal immigrants was very apparent in both of the frames (Van Gorp, 2005).

These two frames can be subdivided into different frames. The intruder frame can be subdivided in the following frames: the illegitimacy of refugees, the threat to national or local integrity, the 'other' as contaminant, refugees as a criminal element and refugees as an economic

threat (Haynes et al., 2006). The victim frame can also be subdivided into four frames, namely the human-interest frame, the positive frame, the support frame and the morality frame (Haynes et al., 2006). All of these frames will be used in this research.

A common topic in the use of these frames is the dehumanization of refugees and immigrants (Eberl et al., 2017). This is often being done by the use of metaphors that refer to natural disasters, such as the refugee flood (Eberl et al., 2017). Furthermore, discussing immigrants as being illegal not only stresses criminality, but also otherness. This causes people not being able to empathize with immigrants being called illegal and dehumanizes (Lakoff & Ferguson, 2006). Another way to dehumanize refugees is by portraying immigrants as anonymous and the out-group (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017).

### 2.3.1. Victim frames

When refugees are seen as victims, the discussion will mostly be about the reason of leaving the country (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Refugees have to leave their country because of fear of persecution because of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or other reasons that lie beyond their own responsibilities (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). This issue is resolved by the awareness that these people are in need of help (Van Gorp, 2005). Striking is that this frame mostly occurs during the Christmas period, it seems as if the season of goodwill impacts which frame is being used (Devereux, 2007).

The victim frame can be subdivided into four frames, the first one being the human interest frame (An & Gower, 2008). This frame brings a human face or emotional angle to an event being discussed in the media. The human interest frame influences an emotional response, and often gives a feeling of responsibility and blame to the reader (An & Gower, 2008). The second frame is the positive frame, which highlights the positive aspects in terms of gains, such as gains for the society, economy or for the labor market (Takemura, 1993). This frame lacks an emotional side, but is rather pragmatic and in favor of the refugees. The refugees in this frame are seen as active contributors to the society. The third victim frame is the support frame, wherein racism and social closure are actively challenged (Haynes et al., 2006). Newspapers using this frame discuss anti-racism arguments and focus on the immigration system as being overly restrictive. Without discussing the personal stories of refugees, this frame rather takes on the general discussion of racism linked to a certain issue such as refugees. The last frame is the morality frame which adds a religious or moral charge to the refugee discussion in the media



(D'Haenens & de Lange, 2001). Since journalists have to remain objective, they refer to this frame mostly indirectly. By asking somebody a question and quoting that person, the story could contain a moral message or specific code of behavior which comes from the interviewee (D'Haenens & de Lange, 2001). The next paragraphs will discuss the meaning, limitations and challenges of these victim frames.

### *Human interest frame*

As being explained in the previous paragraph, this frame adds an emotional dimension to the story. The newspaper article is written from a personal perspective and the attention of the story is on the individual and emotions. Providing a story with a human-interest angle is one of the most important criteria for news coverage for many journalists (Hong, 2013). Having a human touch and personalized feeling to a story, makes it often easier to understand. What the difficulty is with this type of framing, is that it may exaggerate dramatized and emotional portrayals of refugees and overshadow other aspects (Hong, 2013). A story can be made very human-oriented and emotionally appealing while not discussing possible economic, social and other practical facts. The human-interest frame may distract the audience from challenges that the refugee discussion brings up by overemphasizing emotional aspects (Hong, 2013). While this frame is being used to minimize a journalists' bias, some scholars argue that this frame may exacerbate journalistic bias by focusing on a single experience (Jensen, Moriarty, Hurley and Stryker, 2010). The audience may perceive the personal story to be more integer, since the humans in the article do not have an agenda (Boukes, Boomgaarden, Moorman & De Vreese, 2015). However, they tend to forget that these people are being chosen by the journalists, who might choose a story which reflects their opinion. This is also one of the critics that Iyengar (1991) poses concerning this frame. He states that a thematic frame should analyze an issue in a broad and abstract social context, beyond a single event. Furthermore, this frame is being seen as a form of sensationalism that is only being used to increase the amount of readers (Hong, 2013). Nevertheless, it does turn the focuses of the audience on the issue and helps the audience to become more emotionally involved.

Especially stories with a renowned person will attract a wide audience. Using a 'celebrity' as a source for a story will make the article more noticeable and memorable (Boukes et al., 2015). The stories presented in the newspapers with a human frame also make the audience believe that certain problems or successful stories of refugees are occurring more

frequently than is the case. The personal stories are easily being generalized into broader judgments (Boukes et al., 2015). Very often the individuals in the frame do not portray a broader issue or are no ordinary citizens. For example, stories about criminals, drug dealers, TV hosts, actors or models. It has been shown that without having cases with celebrities, the feeling of responsibility is much lower than with personal examples with celebrities (Boukes et al., 2015). However, when the feeling of responsibility is increased, the audience often feels like it is not their responsibility to do something but rather the government's responsibility (Boukes et al., 2015).

### *Positive frame*

This frame focuses on positive aspects of refugees in every field possible. This could be in the field of labor, economics, social benefits, culture and others. A major challenge with this frame is linked to the explanation given by Tankard (2008). He states that framing differs from bias in several important ways. It is a more sophisticated concept that goes beyond the notions of pro or con, favorable or unfavorable and negative or positive. This explanation given immediately shows the difficulty with the positive frame. Since this frame is focusing on solely positive aspects, it lacks the sophisticated character that a frame should have according to Tankard (2008). Framing should reflect the richness of media discourse and at the same time the subtle differences that occur when a specific topic is presented in different ways. All of these points are often ignored by using a pro-or-con bias approach (Tankard, 2008).

A positive aspect of this frame is that it often focuses on public life. It deals with real life situations, that people can relate to. The labor market or economy are topics that most people are opinioned about and can join the discussion. Focusing on positive aspects will emphasize the moral responsibility of the Netherlands and its citizens to offer a hand of help to refugees (Elsamni, 2016). The positive frame allows for action that might be needed and takes human rights into accounts. The negative influence that could occur with this is when the frame is being used as an inaccurate descriptor of refugees, since it carries connotations of race, class, culture and quality of life (Smithberger, 2016). This frame could state that bringing another culture has many benefits, hereby generalizing each one of the cultures that the refugees possess. As another negative characteristic of this frame the refugees are seen as contributing to society, rather than taking part in it. Like every frame that is being discussed, this frame limits the way in which the refugees are being discussed and it constrains the option for how to approach this issue. The

positive frame still has a very mainstream and nation bound thinking, generalizing refugees as being a homogeneous group.

### *Support frame*

This frame takes on the discussion about racism linked to the discussion about refugees. Very often this frame is based on statements by NGOs, religious groups or political figures (Haynes et al., 2006). The problem with this is, just as with the human-interest frame, that there is a sense of bias in the report. The journalist gets to decide who will be in the article and the opinion of the interviewee will affect the frame. The journalists decide who and what is being heard in the media. The focus of the articles using this frame is also proven to be more on the problems of racism than on exploring possibilities for solutions or change (Dreher, 2010). Since the media has the power to influence people's minds and actions, it would be a recommendation to focus on these solutions rather than only focusing on the problem. With the racism discussion come ethnic descriptors, which are often generalizing. Many Muslims in Australia have complained about the media reporting and stereotypes which conflate Arab and Muslim identities or which homogenize the diversity of Muslim cultures into one monolithic community, even in anti-racist discussions (Dreher, 2010).

Complementing this problem is the issue that can occur related to the background of the people who write these articles. The subjective character of news articles partly has to do with the background and individual character of the journalists. As Bleich, Bloemraad & de Graauw (2015) have found, most of the journalists in different European countries and Canada are white, which could result in a biased way of reporting. Not every newspaper has a very diverse pool of journalists. Many western white journalists discuss the issue of racism and are being criticized for their lack of knowledge on the topic. The discussion about racism requires personal experiences or stories heard from others and many white journalists do not have these experiences (Van Dijk, 1989). This tendency of white journalists reporting about racism can be explained by class position and professional routines, goals and values. The power elites ensure that there is mostly a white, western, male and middle class perspective on news events (Van Dijk, 1989). However, having a good effect on the audience requires the journalist to be recognized in its capacity. Minority groups are less organized in powerful institutions and have less political influence in this way. This causes the power elites, existing of these institutions and political figures, to remain focused on the white western male.

### *Morality frame*

This frame takes the refugee discussion and puts it in the context of morals, social prescriptions and religious tenets (Gower & An, 2008). Since journalists have the professional norm to remain objective at all times, they often refer to this frame indirectly. This frame is more common in the minds of the audience, then in the context itself (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). For example, a newspaper could use the views of an interest group to raise questions about immigration. This story could contain moral messages or social prescriptions on how to behave, albeit indirect messages. The concept of morality should not be conflicted with ethics. Morality reflects what we are currently practicing, not ethically conceptualizing where we should be (Poulton, 2005). Morality focuses on the everyday experiences in which ordinary people are as deeply engaged as stake holders in the discussion. Morality is the total of traditions, beliefs, values, attitudes and norms that have been cultivated over time (Poulton, 2005).

Moral framing is often applied in political discussions, (Jones, 2013). There are two types of moral frames that can be applied: the proscriptive moral frames and prescriptive moral frames. Proscriptive moral frames describe a moral hero as protecting someone or something that is worth saving. There is also a moral villain in this frame who is threatening or endangering something worth protecting (Jones, 2013). Words that imply the use of this frame are: ‘imperial’, ‘risk’, ‘expose’ on the negative side and ‘defend’, ‘guard’, ‘preserve’ on the positive side (Jones, 2013). The prescriptive moral frames describe a moral hero as promoting or caring for someone or something in need. The moral villains are guilty of taking away something deserved or neglecting to give attention to the needs of someone or something (Jones, 2013). Words that imply the use of this frame are: ‘abandon’, ‘refuse’, ‘spurn’ on the negative side and ‘nurture’, ‘provide’, ‘care’ on the positive side (Jones, 2013).

Especially this last type of moral framing is applicable to the refugee discussion. Prescriptive morality is sensitive to positive outcomes, is activation-based and focuses on what should be done (Janoff-Bulman, Sheikh & Hepp, 2009). In the refugee discussion, this can be translated to stories in which social prescriptions are given on how to support refugees and how to help them in their integration. The main difference with the support frame is that the morality frame does not focus solely on racism and the negative impact of that. The focus is mostly on the positive outcomes and goes further than looking at a reference to racism in the text. Predominantly references to religious tenets and values are being made.

The problem with this frame lies in the interpretation of the reader. Since the references to this frame are often indirect, the audience has to create meaning out of the stories themselves. This causes different readers to make different meanings out of the stories and the true meaning might not be derived by the readers. Intuition often leads to quick conclusions, which could also be the case with this frame (ALPF Medical Research, 2018). When reporting, journalists could also struggle with the ambiguity of the message. The message that is presented in the news story, might be altered by the journalists' bias (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009). Another problem is the context of the story which is often left out. The order in which the questions are posed, or the context of the entire conversation might affect the answers of the interviewees (Janoff-Bulman et al., 2009). However, the context or entire interview is almost never described in the article.

### 2.3.2. Intruder frames

Contrasting the victim frames, the intruder frame looks at refugees from a different viewpoint. Seeing the refugees as suspects and intruders will lead to negative news media coverage, discouraging people to seek asylum in the country, and seeing refugees as criminals (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Nationalism is a strong reaction of this intruder frame, focusing on issues of protecting national identity and level of prosperity from external threats (Van Gorp, 2005). The intruder frame can be subdivided in the following five frames: the illegitimacy of refugees, the threat to national or local integrity, the 'other' as contaminant, refugees as a criminal element and refugees as an economic threat (Haynes et al., 2006).

#### *The illegitimacy of refugees frame*

The first frame, the illegitimacy of refugees, fails to acknowledge the legitimacy of refugees and immigration itself. The different terms asylum seeker and refugee are being used interchangeably. The refugees and immigration system are also being discussed as being a issue which is caused by external forces, rather than the own political decisions of a country (Haynes et al., 2006). The own political choice of the Netherlands to join Europe and the responsibility of receiving a fixed amount of refugees will be ignored and other external forces will be seen as the cause of the refugee flood. Refugees are especially seen as a threat to the existing social order and are often being called illegal without justification. The genuineness of refugees is being questioned.

The problem with this frame is that one story is often used to generalize all refugees as

being illegal (Perez, 2014). The Netherlands is a country with very little illegal immigration. In 2015 the total of illegal immigrants was 500 (Berkelder & Hoogstad, 2016). Of course, this number will be higher, since not all illegal immigrants can be traced, but it shows that the fear being supported in this frame can be questioned. The Netherlands is also known for its strict policies and effective control in the harbor of Rotterdam. Many illegal immigrants are being intercepted by the police through these controls (Berkelder & Hoogstad, 2016). Another issue with this frame is that many refugees who are still waiting for their approval and are not finished with their procedure yet, are being named illegal. This causes a confusion among the readers of these articles. They might feel that many refugees are illegal in the Netherlands, while they are actually following the procedure and rules being given by the government.

The last point that needs to be taken into account when examining this particular frame is the negative connotation with the word illegal. The word illegal is being used for various things: illegal refugees, the illegal journey, the illegal procedure that they are following in the country. Illegal is being put in front of words in order to give it a negative feeling. However, looking at it from another perspective, discussing the illegal journey that refugees have to make in order to enter Europe does not only show their negative characteristics. It rather shows their desperation and willingness for a better life. The use of the word illegal as being negative is thus not always being put in the right context.

#### *The threat to national or local integrity frame*

The second intruder frame is called the threat to national or local integrity frame. This frame represents a fear of the implications of the first intruder frame for social and cultural cohesion (Haynes et al., 2006). There is a clear us/them communication in news articles that use this frame. The distinction is made between the legitimate Dutch citizen and them, which is the reference for the refugees. The last group is seen as outsiders to the national and local community. A lot of the comments made in these articles are racist and are targeted to seeing the race of the refugees as a source of social problems within the country. The difference with the first frame is that the first discusses the legitimacy as a challenge rather than looking at the result of this challenge.

The us/them divide in an article can have different goals. The first one is seeing the refugee as a physical threat, linking them to terrorism. The second goal has to do with the identity of the refugees. That is what this frame is also focusing on. The identity of the refugees

is being seen as less as the Dutch identity (Greer & Jewkes, 2005). Using this frame there is the threat of creating a generalization about the Dutch way of life. Wood and King (2001) state that the media has a very big role in the construction of refugees as others and creating one homogeneous culture. Obviously, the Dutch culture, like any other culture cannot be grasped by using generalizing elements. The ideal nation is one that is homogeneous concerning this frame, which can also be questioned to be the right thing (Miller, 2008).

Using these generalizing claims undermines the autonomy of individual judgment (Calvert & Warren, 2014). Claims being made by journalists to support the us/them divide should be justified to the readers, which is often not the case (Calvert & Warren, 2014). The different claims are often being repeated in order to convince the audience of the credibility. Not using any arguments to back up the claims, also damages the ethical conditions (Calvert & Warren, 2014). The generalizing claims come close to prejudices instead of well supported factual notions. A physiological explanation for the use of this us/them divide without using facts has to do with xenophobia. This refers to the belief that it is natural for people to live with others of their own kind. When strangers, such as refugees, come too close they are believed to threaten their identity, beliefs and practices or material interests (Rydgren, 2008).

### *The other as contaminant frame*

The third intruder frame is the 'other' as contaminant frame. Othering has been used for many years as a tool of imperialism. It is a tool to justify colonialism and its consequences (Haynes et al., 2006). Stereotypes are being used to create an image of what the other is and what their influence could be on the society. A very apparent stereotype and form of otherness that can be seen in the discourses about refugees is extremism in religion. The other is not a threat to the national or local identity or to the community as a whole, but is rather seen as an immediate threat to the members of society. These threats could be health threats by bringing over diseases (especially AIDS), sexual threats by focusing on sexual assaults by refugees or religious threats by focusing on extremism as a threat to the freedom of the members of society (Haynes et al., 2006). Words as epidemic, infect, barbaric and dirty are being used (Miller, 2008).

After 9/11 this frame became very apparent, building upon stereotypes and popular culture images. Muslims are often depicted as Arabs, while Arabs are seen as terrorists (Sulaiman-Hill et al., 2011). The distinctions between different types of refugees are being blurred and again they are being seen as one homogeneous group. This already has had a visible

effect on society. In the Netherlands there have been a lot of protests concerning AZCs (refugee shelters) coming to different cities. On Facebook there were messages that called out for protest and resistance against the AZCs. This protest was explained by giving the warning that the refugees will rape women and ruin the 'pure minds' of children (SHIFT, 2016). Research has proven that this fear is not accurate and that the actual experience with AZCs is not as bad as this frame suggests. There is a big difference in the expected and the actual nuisance of refugees and many citizens see it as a positive addition to their city (SHIFT, 2016).

Concerning the fear for extremism, there is a legitimacy in this reasoning. However, the stories being told and fear being spread is often exaggerated and the concerns raised are the wrong ones (Byman, 2015). People tend to forget that the refugees are being attacked, killed and terrorized in their own country. The Islamic State, which is the focus of the discussion on extremism, may call for attacks in Europe, but it prioritizes defeating enemies in the Middle East by using fighters, suicide bombers and money (Byman, 2015). If the refugees themselves are strong supporters of these violent groups, they would have stayed in the Middle East to fight. The biggest terrorism problem that Europe has are the radicalized European Muslims, who move to Iraq or Syria to fight for the Islamic State or al-Qaida. Often these people feel disconnected from the European country they live in. When refugees are being treated as a short-term humanitarian problem, as they are being treated by this frame, rather than a long-term integration challenge, this problem will worsen (Byman, 2015). Since this frame is focusing on different health and religious threats that refugees might pose, the tensions between Muslim and non-Muslim communities in Europe will continue to rise. The actual risks are low right now, but if this frame will be continued to be used the potential risks are considerable (Byman, 2015). To conclude, this frame might pose one of the biggest effects for both refugees and the society. It is thus very important to examine how often this frame is being used and in which context the refugees are being discussed as being a threat.

#### *Refugees as a criminal element frame*

The refugees as a criminal element frame sees refugees as a threat to the national body, personal safety and private property (Haynes et al., 2006). Stories about crime and conflict are being highlighted in the news and create an atmosphere of suspicion and prejudice (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). Racial stereotypes being used in this frame often refer to danger, deviance, and crime. When the refugees are discussed in relation to crime, their race or



nationality are often mentioned in the headline. In the articles the refugees will be generalized by mentioning some characteristics that are seen to evoke criminal behavior and differ from the behavior of the own members of society. The difference with the previous frame, which focus on extremism, is that this frame does not take religion into account as a reason for criminality.

The biggest problem for refugees concerning this frame, is that the criminalization of refugees might affect the ability to get protection and acceptance in the new country (Pickering, 2005). The criminal image of refugees is created by the image of wars, genocides and political prosecution in their home countries (Barmaki, 2009). The crimes that the refugees commit in the Netherlands are being treated as the same order as terrorists with no regard to democratic or human rights (Barmaki, 2009). Since this discussion about criminality is often led by emotions rather than facts, the Dutch government has requested an investigation about refugees and their relation to crime in 2016. WODC conducted this research and came to the conclusion that criminality is higher among immigrants than among autochthonous Dutch citizens. However, the highest crime rate is among Eastern Europeans who migrated to the Netherlands. The refugees where this thesis is focusing on are only a small part of the group of immigrants in the WODC report. A little bit over 3% of the refugees is registered as a suspect in a small crime (Guiaux, Uiters, Wubs & Beenackers, 2016). Of all immigrants, the refugees are the least frequently suspects of a crime. The criminality frame suggests that refugees become criminals because of the situation in their home country and the forces they are being suspected to. The WODC report states that, looking at the numbers, there is no link between the war in their home country and criminality rate in the Netherlands (Guiaux et al., 2016). Just as other immigrants, the refugees could have a higher chance of criminality due to the cultural differences.

The report shows that the generalizations about crime linked to refugees are not based on facts. The emphasis on the fact that somebody is a refugee when reporting a crime only increases the feeling of disconnectedness to the Netherlands as being discussed in the previous frame. Often the immigration status and nationality was linked to the crime the refugee was accused of, even if these facts were not relevant to the crime (Miller, 2008). Luckily there is more awareness for this ethnic profiling of refugees and other immigrants in the Netherlands in 2017. Amnesty International has written an article on their website about ethnic profiling and states that it contributes to a negative image about ethnic minorities and does not contribute to the fight against crime (<https://www.amnesty.nl/wat-we-doen/themas/discriminatie/etnisch-profileren>).

Since the attention given to this by Amnesty International, ethnic profiling is being recognized as a serious problem and the government has stated that they will take various measures against this.

### *The economic threat frame*

The last intruder frame is the refugees as an economic threat frame. The refugee is constructed as a scapegoat for the structural inequalities generated by our own economic and social system (Haynes et al., 2006). This frame discusses the accessibility of social and economic resources for refugees to provide them in their basic needs. In the Netherlands there is the *bed-brood-bad* regulation, which states that everybody who enters the Netherlands should have the right to a bed, bread, and bath. Financial resources will help the refugees finding housing and they can go to the Voedselbank which will provide them with food every week. In this frame, these regulations are being criticized and discussed as being unfair to Dutch citizens who might not be able to fulfill these needs (Van Gool, 2016). Besides the unfairness, the focus is also on the huge cost of asylum to taxpayers, benefits fraud, compensation claims and the cost of providing health care (Miller, 2008). At the same time, this frame focuses on the labor market including concerns regarding employment, economic change and social integration (Greussing & Boomgaarden, 2017). This competition about scarce goods will lead to negative attitudes towards the refugees and the Dutch citizens (Devroe, 2007). This negative attitude is supported by the representation of refugees in this frame as being ungrateful and dishonest (Miller, 2008).

The importance of the economy is often highlighted by political leaders who ‘primed’ ordinary citizens to use economic reasons as criteria in forming their opinions about immigration (Citrin, Green, Muste & Wong, 1997). Economic threats are mostly perceived by people who are experiencing financial stress rather than people who are well off (Citrin et al., 1997). This is quite contradicting, since the people with less financial needs should be more emphatic towards refugees who also have little economic resources. It has also been researched that when in a period of decreasing national economic wellbeing, immigration is viewed as resulting in increasing and tangible costs (Citrin et al., 1997). The labor market threat is also mostly discussed among lower skilled workers. Looking at the social services provided for refugees, it is again the people with a lower economic status who oppose these ‘benefits’ for refugees. This shows that this frame is particularly relevant for the newspapers that are being read by people with a lower social economic status. The challenge with this is that it does not represent a national shared threat, while it is presented in this way. Furthermore, the economic consequences

might be lower. Philippe Legrain, who is an economist at the London School of Economics says that refugees are the saviors of the European economy (Visscher, 2015). The average refugee will yield Europe the double than he will cost. Next to this the refugees are also a solution to the upcoming aging of the Netherlands. This shows that also this frame is based more on emotions than actual facts. Besides this, it is hard to predict the actual outcomes of refugees on the economy. This frame helps to put fear in people's minds that might not be needed.

The victim frame and the intruder frame are shown in Appendix B. In this appendix, a table is given showing all the features of the victim frame and the intruder frame.

### 3. Method

This chapter contains an overview of the process of gaining and analyzing the data in order to test the hypotheses and answer the research question. A qualitative content analysis was conducted, with both an inductive and deductive approach. This content analysis explored what frames were being used in the various Dutch newspapers. The total data set consists of 60 newspaper articles examined in 5 different newspapers.

#### 3.1 Methodology

For this research qualitative content analysis is deemed to be appropriate as a method. This form of data analysis can be used in research in which the informational content of the data is relevant (Forman & Damschroder, 2008). The content analysis will have an inferential approach, which explores what the content of the articles says about the society and representations. This method avoids the danger of looking through the lens of one's assumptions and avoids bias as much as possible (Schreier, 2012).

Qualitative content analysis can be used to address questions on how social experiences are created or give meaning (Schreier, 2012). There are a few characteristics of qualitative content analysis that are especially important for this research. The first one is that it offers a form of flexibility in the process of conducting research and the second that it focuses more on the process itself than the outcome (Macnamara, 2011). Since frames might emerge throughout the process, it is needed to have a flexible approach rather than a static approach where all the frames are already set. This also explains why the process is important in qualitative content analysis, a lot of data can be derived throughout the process.

Qualitative content analysis examines the relationship between the text and the audience. This means that in this form of analysis not only the text is important, but also the audience and other contextual factors (Macnamara, 2011). In this research the main contextual factor that will be considered is the factor of time. Qualitative analysis is needed to understand the deeper meanings and relationships between various factors (Macnamara, 2011).

This research has both an inductive and deductive approach. Part of the frames and categories will be identified from the data, while another part will be found through reading previous research. The choice for both inductive and deductive is made, since deductive analysis can be inflexible. Not all the frames found in previous research match the data of this thesis,

which causes the necessity to extract frames from the data itself. The units of analysis are the newspaper articles, which will be used to identify the frames. A total amount of 60 newspaper articles will be examined as coding units. These stories will be analyzed from January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017. This time frame is chosen, since 2015 marked the beginning of the refugee discussion in the Netherlands. From each year an almost equal amount of articles was chosen, in order to see how the frames in the articles have developed yearly.

The main independent variables of this research are the newspaper articles that are being examined together with the year of the article. The main dependent variables are the frames being found in the articles and the main placement of the frame (headline, introduction, body, conclusion). This last variable matters since a reference to a frame put in the headline might draw more attention than a reference in the last part of the article.

### 3.2 Data collection

The data of this research was derived from five newspaper articles: de Telegraaf, NRC Handelsblad, de Trouw, de Volkskrant and Algemeen Dagblad. These newspapers were chosen based on their high circulation rates and popularity in the Netherlands. Furthermore, all of the newspapers have a different political and social viewpoint, which sometimes contrasts each other. From each newspaper an equal amount of articles was chosen. Different parts of the text will be put into categories referring to the frames being examined. Accompanying visuals (photographs, illustrations or graphs) were not included in the analysis. For each frame there are certain key concepts and elements that refer to the frame and indicate that a certain frame is being used.

To select the articles a non-random selection was done by searching terms concerning refugees together with one of the newspapers on LexisNexis and selecting the first 12 articles out of the results. The search terms that were being used on LexisNexis all related to migration: *vluchteling OR vluchtelingen OR vluchteling crisis OR immigratie OR migratie OR economische vluchteling OR migranten OR migrant (refugee OR refugees OR refugee crisis OR immigration OR migration OR economic refugee OR migrants OR migrant)*.

The rest of the criteria on LexisNexis was as following: the search type was terms and connectors, specify date between January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 and December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017, no index term, no source type, search by the name of the newspaper, section search was added for headlines with the same search terms. The minimum length of the articles was set on 400 words, since most

articles on the front page are above this word count. For each newspaper, articles with about the same amount of words were analyzed. The criteria considering the articles were that the article had to deal with refugees as its main topic and that at least half of the article had to discuss refugees. In order to meet these criteria, the article should discuss the refugees already in the title or the introduction. The performed search resulted in a total of 589 articles, of which a total of 60 articles were selected.

The characteristics and key elements which refer to the use of a frame are put in a coding scheme, categorizing the different frames and their characteristics. To assure the inter-coder reliability, double coding is applied in the coding process. The coding process was being repeated by a second coder to test the quality of the category definitions and the codes. The intercoder reliability is determined by using the following formula as established by Holsti (1969):

$$\text{Reliability} = 2M/(N1+N2)$$

M is the number of coding decisions that the two coders agreed on. N1 represents the first coder's decisions and N2 represents the second coder's decisions. N1 and N2 represent the decisions where the coders found the frames as being present in the articles. The intercoder reliability across all categories is 0.98. Table 3.1. provides an overview of the intercoder reliability of all categories.

Before coding all the articles, a sample was taken of 10 newspaper articles. Both coders coded these articles, after which the intercoder reliability of the complete sample was calculated. This resulted in a intercoder reliability of 0.95, which showed the reliability of the coding process and the coherence between the two coders. After this result the complete data set was being coded through the same process. The complete reliability sample had the same size as the complete data set, which means that all articles were included to measure the reliability.

The minimum intercoder reliability for all categories was set on 0.80. This was determined by various previous researches, which stated that this number is the correct representation of a valid research. Research done by Landis & Koch (1977) states the following: an intercoder reliability under 0.00 is poor, 0.00-0.20 Slight; 0.21-0.40 Fair; 0.41-0.60 Moderate; 0.61-0.80 Substantial; 0.81-1.00 is almost perfect.

As can be seen in table 3.1., all categories have an intercoder reliability of 0.90 or higher.

This means that the coding process is being executed in a proper manner and the research results can be found reliable. The intercoder reliability shows that the right frames are being detected in the articles and valid conclusions can be drawn from the data.

Table 3.1. Intercoder reliability

Variables	Intercoder reliability
<b>Newspaper</b>	1.00
<b>HIF</b>	0.96
<b>PF</b>	0.90
<b>SF</b>	1.00
<b>MOR</b>	0.91
<b>ILL</b>	0.92
<b>LOC</b>	1.00
<b>OTH</b>	0.96
<b>CRI</b>	0.92
<b>ECO</b>	0.94
<b>FULL</b>	0.95
<b>CRAT</b>	0.91
<b>CRPO</b>	1.00
<b>HUM</b>	0.92

The frames are both concept-driven from the theoretical framework and data-driven from the different frames found in the articles. In this way the coding frame will always match the material of the research. The main categories will focus on the label of refugees, are they being referred to as refugees or migrants or asylum seekers? Other categories will be linked to other aspects of the frames such as the stereotypes, criminality and positive attributes.

In the codebook, the first part of the coded article contains the general information. Categories such as the source of the article, date of publication, title, page number, and number of words are mentioned. The second part of the coding included the different frames being used: *human interest frame, positive frame, support frame, morality frame, the illegitimacy of refugees frame, the threat to local or national integrity frame, the 'other' as contaminant frame, refugees as a criminal element frame, refugees as an economic threat frame, too full frame, critic on attitude Dutch citizens frame, critic on refugee policies frame, dehumanizing frame*. Human interest frame (HIF) was selected when there is a reference to refugees with a human example to the issue which generates sympathy or compassion. Positive frame (PF) was selected when refugees were discussed in different areas such as economy, labour market, social issues as being an attribute to the society. Support frame (SF) was selected when refugees were discussed in terms of moral issues and legal rights concerning racism. The morality frame (MOR) was selected when refugees were discussed with a religious or moral stance. Other than the positive frame, this does not have to be directly linked to racism. The morality frame is often linked to moral universal values, such as being honest, respect all life, focus on humanitarian rights and basic political rights such as democracy. All of the four frames above are positive directed frames. The illegitimacy of refugees (ILL) was selected when refugees were being mixed up with other migrants and refugees were seen as a problem caused by themselves instead of politics. The threat to local or national integrity (LOC) was selected when refugees were discussed in terms of being divert from the Dutch culture. The 'other' as contaminant (OTH) was selected when the focus was being put on stereotypes and religion. The refugees as criminal element frame (CRI) was selected when refugees were discussed in relation to different forms of criminality. The last frame derived from previous research, refugees as an economic threat (ECO) was being used when negative economic consequences concerning refugees were discussed.

For each frame there are certain key concepts and elements that refer to the frame and



indicate that a certain frame is being used. In order to find these elements, some questions have to be raised in order to get more insight in the frame being used. Answering these questions will ensure if the frame is being used in the newspaper. In the table below a description of the topics of these questions is given. The questions can be found in the codebook in Appendix A.

HIF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Human face of the issue</li> <li>- Emotional or personal touch to the story</li> </ul>
PF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Economic benefits of refugees</li> <li>- Positive attributes of refugees</li> </ul>
SF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Moral issues regarding refugees</li> <li>- Legal rights linked to racism – anti-racism speech</li> </ul>
MOR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Moral message in the article</li> <li>- Reference to morality, God and religious tenets</li> <li>- Prescriptions on how to behave (mostly indirect)</li> </ul>
ILL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Inconsistent use of the words refugee, immigrant, economic refugees and war refugees</li> <li>- Refugees are the cause of the problem, not any political factors</li> </ul>
LOC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preservation of national boundaries and national culture</li> <li>- Cultural elements of refugees which could harm the Dutch society</li> </ul>

OTH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Extremism in religion, religion is the core problem</li> <li>- Use of stereotypes, generalization of refugees</li> </ul>
CRI	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Refugees as a security threat</li> <li>- Discussion of crimes by refugees while mentioning their background (Muslim, Syrian, African etc)</li> </ul>
ECO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Financial losses that refugees bring and other negative economical consequences</li> <li>- Unemployment is a core problem</li> </ul>

All of the above mentioned frames were derived from previous research. A total of four frames were created out of the data. These frames are: The Netherlands is too full (FULL), critic on the attitude of Dutch citizens (CRAT), critic on refugee policies (CRPO), dehumanizing frame (HUM). The first frame uses the argument that the Netherlands already has too many citizens to take in more immigrants. This frame is often used without stating actual numbers about the amount of citizens or the capacity of the Netherlands. There are no inferences made about characteristics of refugees or distinction between refugees and immigrants. This frame fits under the intruder frames. The second frame, the critic on the attitude of Dutch citizens frame, focuses on the negative attitude that Dutch citizens have. This attitude is being criticized, since it might have a negative influence on the integration of refugees. The main criticism is on the fact that a lot of people follow the opinion of the media or politicians without checking the facts. This frame is part of the victim frame. The third frame that is being added, the critic on refugee policies frame, discusses policies that are being introduced to control the refugee inflow. Especially the European regulations with Turkey are being criticized. According to this frame, these regulations do not positively influence refugees. Criticism is being expressed about both European policies and about Dutch policies. When discussing Dutch policies, the prime minister Mark Rutte is being criticized more than other politicians. This frame fits under the victim frame. The last frame discusses refugees in a dehumanizing manner. This is being done by expressing refugees as property, profits or stating that they are also humans. The dehumanizing of refugees

is done in a very subtle way, by citing other people who make these comments. This frame fits in the intruder frame. An overview on the topics regarding the questions can be found below. The questions for these frames can be found in Appendix A.

FULL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Focus on the nuisance of refugees</li> <li>- Discusses the refugees as a ‘flood’</li> </ul>
CRAT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Criticism on Dutch politicians, people and other newspaper stories</li> <li>- Generalizations are given about Dutch attitudes towards refugees</li> </ul>
CRPO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Non effective policies made to control the refugee inflow</li> <li>- Refugees are harmed by these policies, the policies are seen as the cause of many refugee problems</li> </ul>
HUM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- References to animal imagery, like capture of refugees or smoking out of refugees.</li> <li>- Reference to the ‘hunt’ on refugees</li> </ul>

### 3.3 Data analysis

The coding process was done by using the program Nvivo. This program is created to classify, sort and arrange all of the information. It also examines the relationships in the data and test theories. The capacity of recording, sorting, matching and linking will assist in answering the research question from the data (Bazely & Jackson, 2013).

After the initial listing of the material and sorting all the articles per newspaper to get a good overview, the different frames were inserted into Nvivo. Every article was coded and irrelevant articles were deleted. These articles were irrelevant due to their lack of frame or because they were too deviant from the central theme. Articles including the opinions of readers or being published as letters from readers were also excluded from this research. A total of  $N =$

60 articles were selected for this thesis, of which  $n = 12$  from every newspaper. The articles were divided into important sections, where the focus was on the headline and introduction of the articles. Frames being present in these sections are being read first and may have a bigger influence.

Before analyzing the frames, some themes were identified in the articles. These themes and reoccurring patterns mainly consisted of the us-them divide, which was also found in previous research, the constant blaming of refugees for negative events occurring in society and references to stereotypes. However, there were also themes which focused on the positive impact of refugees. The most frequently occurring positive theme included stories focusing on the difficult lives of the refugees. This theme can be linked to the human interest frame. After identifying different themes and patterns, all the frames derived from theory were being linked to these themes. After this coding process was done, the articles were revised and missing frames were added. In this part of the process, the frames created by the data were added.

During the analysis, the coder answered several questions in order to identify the frames. These questions can all be found in Appendix A. The intercoder reliability was calculated as described in the previous paragraph, to ensure that the coder has the right interpretation of these questions and identifies the frames correctly. The questions and characteristics of the frames were determined by previous research. Several frames were created during the coding process, of which the characteristics were set in accordance with both of the coders.

The frames (called nodes in Nvivo) were manually added by the first coder, not via the auto-coding option of Nvivo. Since auto-coding could have several issues, such as creating two nodes for a similar theme or vice versa creating one node for themes that are closely linked, this type of coding was excluded from this research. A limitation of the manual coding process is that it is very time consuming and some frames might not be identified in an article. However, adding a second coder limits the possibility of missing out on frames in articles.

When the coding process was finalized, Nvivo was being used to find relations between the different frames and the newspapers. Firstly, some general tests were done by creating a word frequency chart, a chart including the most framed articles and a hierarchy chart. These tests gave a good overview of the division of frames between the articles and newspapers. After these general tests, the newspapers and frames were analyzed separately. The most frequently used frames were identified and the frames that were used mostly together were examined.

Different factors, such as time and type of newspaper were also analyzed in combination with the frames being used. The results concerning the frequency of the frames being used in the total dataset were automatically given by Nvivo. The results concerning the amount of frames being used per year and per newspaper were calculated by hand. To avoid any calculation mistakes, the second coder was also involved in these calculations. No differences were found in these calculations, which confirmed the validity of the outcomes. After the confirmation of the outcomes, the findings were put in tables and categorized per type (year, newspaper, frame). All of the findings can be found in the next chapter.

## 4. Findings

This chapter discusses the results of the analysis done in Nvivo. Firstly, some general outcomes are being explained. After that, the findings are explained per newspaper, stating which frame occurred most or least. After all the newspapers are analyzed, the frames are analyzed individually after which the relationships between the different frames are analyzed. It will be stated which frames occur very often together and how they relate to each other. Different outcomes and statements by previous researchers will be analyzed and answered.

### 4.1. General outcomes

Before looking at the individual articles and frames, some general tests were done in Nvivo. The first one was creating a chart to see which articles contained the most frames. This was done through the chart function on Nvivo. This chart resulted in a top 15 of articles containing the most frames. De Telegraaf has an article with the most frames of the total sample in it, followed by an article from Trouw. De Telegraaf article has a coverage of 21.97% and the Trouw article 17.28%. Striking is that NRC Handelsblad has many articles in the top 15, however they all contain significantly less frames than de Telegraaf, Trouw and AD. The NRC Handelsblad article with the highest coverage has a coverage of 3.61%. De Volkskrant only has one article in the top 15, in which the frames only cover 1.80% of the article. The article with the largest amounts of frames of the AD has a coverage of 11.31%. The overview of the top 15 can be found in Appendix C1 and C2.

A word frequency query has been run to examine which words occur most in the articles. The first word with an amount of 650 times is refugees. Second place is refugee and third place is migrants with an amount of respectively 389 and 338. The words crisis and problem were also present in the top 100 of words. Crisis occurred 109 times and problem 36 times. These negative words can be linked to the intruder frames, in which refugees are often discussed as being a problem or linked to a crisis. There were no obvious positive words in this word frequency cloud. The word cloud can be found in Appendix C3.

The last general test was done through a hierarchy chart. Through this chart, the frames were ranked from most frequently used to least frequently used. The chart showed that the illegitimacy of refugees frame was most frequently used. The top three continued with the human interest frame in second place and the economic threat frame in third place. The three

least frequently occurring frames are the morality frame, the critic on attitude Dutch people frame and the dehumanizing frame. All of the frames and their frequencies can be found in Appendix C4 and C5. Note that these numbers include all frames being separately mentioned in articles. When the human interest frame occurs in one article three times, it is counted as three. In paragraph 4.8 the frames are counted as one when occurring multiple times in one article.

The newspaper with the most frames in its articles is NRC Handelsblad, with a total of 36 frames. In second place comes de Volkskrant with a total of 34 frames appearing in the articles. After that comes Trouw with a total of 27 frames appearing in the articles. The fourth place is for de Telegraaf, which has a total of 23 frames occurring in the article. The newspaper with the least amount of frames is Algemeen Dagblad, which has an amount of 23 frames in its articles. All of these numbers can be found in table 4.2.

#### **4.2 De Telegraaf**

The articles from de Telegraaf mostly included the refugees as a criminal element frame. This frame is included in four articles. The economic threat frame and illegitimacy of refugee frame are present in three articles. The most frequent victim frame was the human interest frame, which is present in two articles. Also present in three articles is the other as contaminant frame. Present in two articles are the threat to local or national integrity and the critic on refugee policies frame. The support frame was only present in one article. The only frames that are not present in any of the articles were the dehumanizing frame and the morality frame.

A total of six articles included solely intruder frames, which emphasizes the negative attributes of refugees. Two articles were only positive, including the human interest frame and the support frame. These article discussed the stories of the volunteers in Greece who are helping the refugees and the positive role of the European Union in the refugee crisis. The other articles were both positive and negative, combining the victim and intruder frames.

In de Telegraaf the illegitimacy of refugees frame was most present in 2015. In 2016 this shifted to the other as contaminant frame, the economic threat frame and the refugee as criminal element frame. In 2017 the used frames were the refugee as criminal element frame, the critic on refugee policies frame, the support frame and the other as contaminant frame.

### 4.3 Algemeen Dagblad

The most frequently occurring frames in het Algemeen Dagblad are the human interest frame and the illegitimacy of refugees frame. Both frames are present in five articles. Present in three articles are the other as contaminant frame and the threat to local and national integrity frame. The economic threat frame and too full frame are present in two articles. The positive frame, support frame and the criminal element frame are present in one article. The rest of the frames were not present in the articles of het Algemeen Dagblad.

Most of the articles had a mix of positive and negative frames, in total six articles. Only one article had solely a positive frame included in the text. In five of the articles there were only negative frames present.

For het Algemeen Dagblad the illegitimacy of refugees frame was also the most frequently one used in 2015, together with the morality frame. In 2016 the illegitimacy of refugees frame was still frequently used, but the human interest frame occurred one time more often. In 2017 the illegitimacy of refugees frame, economic threat frame, criminal element frame, human interest frame, the threat to local and national integrity, the other as contaminant frame and too full frame were the only ones occurring in het Algemeen Dagblad.

### 4.4 Trouw

De Trouw has a similar outcome as Algemeen Dagblad. Again, the human interest frame and illegitimacy of refugees frame are most frequently used in the text, with a total of four articles. Another frame which appeared in four articles is the critic on refugee policies frame. The criminal element frame is present in three articles. The positive frame, economic threat frame, too full frame and dehumanizing frame are all present in two articles. The critic on attitude Dutch citizens, other as contaminant frame, morality frame and threat to local and national integrity frame are present in one article. The support frame is the only frame that is not present in the articles.

Trouw also mostly has a mix between positive and negative frames in its articles. In six of the articles there are both victim and intruder frames present. Striking is that there is never more than 1 positive frame in an article. There is a total of 4 articles with only negative frames. Only 2 articles have solely a positive frame.

Trouw had several frames being the most frequently ones used in 2015, namely the human interest frame, the illegitimacy of refugees frame and the refugees as a criminal element



frame. In 2016 the criminal element frame was replaced by the critic on refugee policies frame and dehumanizing frame. However, the most occurring frame that year was the morality frame. The illegitimacy of refugees frame and human interest frame were also part of the very frequently occurring frames. In 2017 the only frames that were being used were the threat to local and national identity frame, the morality frame and the critic on refugee policies frame.

#### 4.5 NRC Handelsblad

The findings of NRC Handelsblad differ from other newspapers. The two frames that are being used most frequently are the human interest frame and the economic threat frame, both are present in seven articles. The illegitimacy of refugees frame and the critic on refugee policies are present in five articles. The other as contaminant is present in three articles. The positive frame, threat to local and national integrity and the too full frame are present in two articles. Only present in one article are the support frame, criminal element frame and the critic on attitude Dutch citizens frame. The dehumanizing frame and the morality frame are not present in NRC Handelsblad.

These difference with the other newspapers is the fact that there are only two articles with solely negative frames. Three of the articles have only positive frames. A mix of positive and negative frames can be found in seven articles. Focusing on the positive frames, there are two articles where there are two or more positive frames present.

NRC Handelsblad had two most occurring frames in 2015, the human interest frame and the refugees as economic threat frame. In 2016 the most frequently occurring frame was the illegitimacy of refugees frame. In 2017 again the economic threat frame was the most frequently occurring frame.

#### 4.6 De Volkskrant

De Volkskrant has balanced results. The illegitimacy of refugees frame and the critic on refugee policies are most frequently present in a total of five articles. The support frame and human interest frame are present in four articles. In three articles are the following frames present: positive frame, the other as contaminant frame and the dehumanizing frame. The threat to local and national integrity frame and criminal element frame are present in two articles. In only one article are the economic threat, too full frame and critic on attitude Dutch citizens frame present. Almost all of the frames are being present in de Volkskrant, except for the morality frame.

Most of the articles have a mix between positive and negative frames, including both victim frames and intruder frames. This mix is being found in five articles. There are more articles with only positive frames than only negative frames, a total of four articles. There are three articles which contain only negative frames.

De Volkskrant had two opposite frames as most frequently occurring in 2015, the human interest frame and the dehumanizing frame. In 2016 the illegitimacy of refugees frame was being used most frequently. In 2017 there were seven frames present: the positive frame, the illegitimacy of refugees frame, the other as contaminant frame, the support frame, the critic on refugee policies frame, the human interest frame and the critic on attitude Dutch citizens frame.

#### 4.7 Year of the articles

Three years were analyzed: 2015, 2016 and 2017. All of the years included 20 articles. The most common frame in 2015 is the human interest frame, which was present in 10 articles. The illegitimacy of refugees frame was present in nine articles and the economic threat frame in seven articles. The least frequent frames were the morality frame and the critic on attitude of Dutch citizens with two articles. The dehumanizing frame, criminal element frame, threat to local and national integrity and support frame were also not much present with only three articles.

In 2016 the illegitimacy of refugees was the most frequently used frame in 11 articles. The human interest frame has a second place with presence in eight articles. The criminal element frame is third with six articles. The morality frame was present in five articles. The least frequently occurring frames are support frame and the dehumanizing frame with a presence in only two articles. The critic on attitude of Dutch citizens frame was not present in any article in 2016.

In 2017 the most frequently used frame is the critic on refugee policies, being present in five articles. Second place are the economic threat frame and the human interest frame, being present in four articles. Present in three articles was the other as contaminant frame. The criminal element frame, threat to local and national integrity frame and the illegitimacy of refugees frame occurred in two articles. The positive frame, the morality frame, the support frame, the too full frame and the critic on attitude of Dutch citizens frame were only present in one article. Not present in any of the articles was the dehumanizing frame.

In all of the years there was a good balance between the positive and the negative frames.

The negative frames were slightly more present than the positive frames. In 2015 the victim frames were present 27 times and the intruder frames 35 times. In 2016 the victim frames were present 26 times and the intruder frames 35 times. In 2017 the victim frames were present 10 times and the intruder frames 19 times. An overview of the frames being used throughout the years can be found in table 4.3.

#### 4.8 Frames

The illegitimacy of refugees frame is the most occurring frame in the dataset with a total frequency of 22 together with the human interest frame. The critic on refugee policies comes in second place with a total amount of 16 times. The third place is for the economic threat frame being present 15 times. The other as contaminant frame has been used 13 times and the criminal element frame is present 11 times. The threat to local and national integrity is present 10 times and the positive frame appears nine times. The too full frame and the morality frame are present 8 times. Less frequent are the support frame with an amount of seven times and the dehumanizing frame with a frequency of five. The least present of all frames is the critic on attitude Dutch citizens being present four times. All of these frequencies can be found in table 4.1. and 4.2., separating the year of the articles and the newspapers. The difference with Appendix C4, is that in table 4.1. and 4.2. each frame can only be counted one time per article.

In the theoretical framework, it has been discussed that left wing newspapers are more likely to give attention to refugees and make more use of positive frames. For this research, the left wing newspapers are: de Volkskrant and de Trouw.

The victim frames are the following frames: human interest frame, positive frame, morality frame, support frame, critic on attitude Dutch citizens and the critic on refugee policies frame. When looking at table 4.2., which discusses the frames occurring in the newspapers, it can be seen that the victim frames are quite equally balanced throughout the newspapers. De Telegraaf includes a total amount of 6 victim frames. Algemeen Dagblad has a total amount of 10 victim frames. Trouw has a total of 15 victim frames. NRC Handelsblad includes the victim frames 14 times. De Volkskrant also includes the victim frames 14 times. This means that NRC Handelsblad, de Volkskrant and Trouw discuss the victim frames more often than de Telegraaf and Algemeen Dagblad. However, the difference between the newspapers is low.

The victim frames are more apparent in 2015, being present in the articles 26 times. In 2016 this amount was 25 and in 2017 the victim frames were only present 15 times. This

confirms the outcomes of the study done by Georgiou & Zaborowski (2017) as explained in the theoretical framework. They found that in the beginning of 2015 there was more sympathy and empathy towards refugees, which decreased in the years after. A fact that could explain the decrease of the victim frame throughout the years might have to do with the concept of compassion fatigue. Moeller (1999) explains this concept linked to the media, by stating that in the first period of a crisis people have a feeling of guilt. After this initial feeling of guilt, media consumers eventually get to the point where they turn the page. This happens due to the fact that people are overwhelmed by all the disasters they read about and are not shocked anymore by any of the stories (Moeller, 1999). The newspapers have to pay attention to this and adapt their stories according to this compassion fatigue. Knowing that people will not read some of the stories, media outlets emphasized other stories. They try to get the attention of the reader by reporting contradicting facts about the same issue or totally different stories (Moeller, 1999).

Another reason for the decreasing victim frames from 2015 to 2017, might be the upcoming elections that were held in March 2017. Van Ginneken (2002) has examined the media portrayal of migrants during the Dutch elections 2002. He found out that the media had an extreme emphasis on migrants in their articles, had a negative attitude towards migrants and did not look at the perspective of the migrants themselves. The opinions and norms of the Dutch society were seen as normal and as a criterion for other opinions (van Ginneken, 2002). There was a strong sense of ethnocentrism, where stories about migrants were only discussed from a Dutch perspective. Getting closer to the elections, this ethnocentrism in the media got stronger. Another factor that influenced this, was that Pim Fortuyn and his political party were very popular in the elections of 2002. He was a politician with a very strong (negative) opinion about migrants. He can be compared to the Dutch politician Geert Wilders, who was very popular in the last elections of 2017. However, some state that Geert Wilders is even more negative in his attitude towards migrants and refugees. The popularity of these two politicians is somewhat the same, and they were both highly discussed in the media.

Contradicting the left wing newspapers, are de Telegraaf and NRC Handelsblad, which are seen as leaning towards right-wing newspapers. Algemeen Dagblad can also be seen as more right-wing, however less than de Telegraaf and NRC Handelsblad. These newspapers tend to have a more negative perspective on refugees, as discussed in the theoretical framework. This negative perspective can be expressed by the use of intruder frames.

The intruder frames are the following frames: the illegitimacy of refugees frame, the threat to local and national identity frame, the other as contaminant frame, the refugee as criminal element frame, the refugee as economic threat frame, the too full frame and the dehumanizing frame. When looking at these frames in table 4.2., the division of these frames between the newspapers can be seen. De Telegraaf includes a total amount of 16 intruder frames. Algemeen Dagblad has a total amount of 16 intruder frames. Trouw has a total of 15 intruder frames. NRC Handelsblad includes the intruder frames 23 times. De Volkskrant includes the intruder frames 17 times. Looking at these numbers, it can be seen that the intruder frames are mostly present in the de Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad. Trouw has the least amount of intruder frames. Again, all of the numbers are very close to each other. These outcomes implicate that right wing newspapers are not fixed on negative portrayals in their newspapers.

Unlike the victim frames, the intruder frames have increased between 2015 and 2016. In 2015 the intruder frames were present in the articles 33 times. In 2016 this amount increased to 36. In 2017 the amount was 13 until December 31<sup>st</sup>. The decrease between 2016 and 2017 could be explained by the concept of compassion fatigue, since people are fed up of hearing about refugees whether it is positive or negative. The increase between 2015 and 2016 can be explained by the feeling of suspicion and hostility towards refugees, as the survey conducted by Georgiou and Zaborowski (2017) shows.

The two intruder frames that have decreased the most from 2015 until 2017 are the illegitimacy of refugees frame and the economic threat frame. This means that in the media the refugees are less being seen as a cause of economic problems and their legitimacy is being questioned less than in the years before. This also means that refugees are less being intertwined with migrants or asylum seekers. A reason for the decrease in seeing refugees as an economic threat could be the increase in the critic on refugee policies frame. This last frame discusses different policies regarding refugees and migration. The blame for the economic consequences that might rise when letting refugees in the country is put on the politicians rather than on the refugees themselves with this frame. This changing perspective might cause the economic threat frame to decrease, while the critic on refugee policies frame increases.

Even though the illegitimacy of refugees frame and economic threat frame are decreasing, they are still found to be some of the most frequently appearing frames in the

newspapers. In the results it can be found that for Algemeen Dagblad, Trouw and de Volkskrant the illegitimacy of refugees frame is most apparent. The economic threat frame is most apparent in NRC Handelsblad. Again, this is often in combination with the human interest frame.

A reason for both the illegitimacy of refugees frame and refugees as economic threat frame to decrease, might be the fact that they often appear together with positive frames. Both of these frames appear very often with the human interest frame, critic on refugee policies frame and the positive frame. Especially the human interest frame has a very strong effect, since it discusses personal stories that people might be able to relate to. Furthermore, the positive frame often discusses facts concerning the amount of refugees coming in and the consequences. These numbers might be able to overrule the negative frames by showing the readers the real numbers.

When looking at other frames are mostly used together, the following findings come up. Very often negative and positive frames are being used together in an article. The most frequently used combinations are the refugees as economic threat frame together with the human interest frame or critic on refugee policies frame. The illegitimacy of refugees frame is often found together with the human interest frame, critic on refugee policies frame and the positive frame. The human interest frame is also often used together with the refugees as criminal element frame. The positive frame is often being used together with the critic on refugee policies frame. Striking is that the positive frames are mostly used together with negative frames rather than with other positive frames. The only positive frame which is always used by itself is the morality frame.

The notion of competition and decrease in the amount of readers has also been discussed in the previous section. De Telegraaf, NRC Handelsblad and Algemeen Dagblad all had a big decrease in their readers from 2015 – 2017. This could lead to more sensationalistic frames and news.

Looking at table 4.3. the frames in the newspapers are being analyzed per year. For de Telegraaf it can be seen that all the frames remain equal or the frequency decreases, except for the other as contaminant frame, refugees as criminal element frame and the refugees as economic threat frame. These three negative sensationalistic frames increase in their frequency of being used in articles from 2015 until 2017. This increase is especially seen in the period between 2015 and 2016. For NRC Handelsblad only the illegitimacy of refugees frame increases, by being apparent one more time in 2016 than in 2015. Again, this only occurs

between 2015 and 2016. All of the other sensationalistic frames have the same frequency or the frequency decreases. Algemeen Dagblad only sees the human interest frame increasing in the period between 2015 and 2016. In 2017 it decreases again. All of the other sensationalistic frames remain the same or decrease in their frequency. De Telegraaf, NRC Handelsblad and Algemeen Dagblad do not have an increase in sensationalistic frames in the period between 2015 and 2017. Some frames tend to increase in their frequency, but this is only a small amount.

De Volkskrant and de Trouw had a decrease in their readers in the period between 2016 – 2017, which could lead to the use of more sensationalistic frames. Looking at table 4.3., it can be seen that de Volkskrant has an increase in the illegitimacy of refugees frame and the refugees as a criminal element frame. However, this is over the period of 2015 until 2017. When focusing on the period between 2016 and 2017 it can be seen that all of the sensationalistic frames decrease or stay the same. Especially the illegitimacy of refugees frame decreases significantly. Trouw sees all the frames decreasing in their frequency, except for the threat to local and national integrity frame. This increases by being used one time more in 2017 than in 2016. When looking to the period between 2015 and 2017 it can be seen that only three frames increase in 2016, which are the other as contaminant frame, the critic on refugee policies frame and the dehumanizing frame. The rest of the frames decrease in their frequency or remain the same. The decrease in the readership of de Volkskrant and de Trouw did not lead to more sensationalistic frames.

Besides being driven by a decreasing amount of readers, some of the newspapers are also more sensation focused than others. De Telegraaf, Algemeen Dagblad and de Volkskrant are known to be sensationalist newspapers. As discussed in the previous sections, these newspapers could include more frames in their articles than the other newspapers.

When looking at table 4.2. the total amount of frames being used in the newspapers can be found. The highest amounts of frames can be found in de Volkskrant and NRC Handelsblad. De Telegraaf and Algemeen Dagblad both have the least amount of frames in their articles. The statement that sensationalist newspapers will have more frames, is not relevant in this research.

**Table 4.1. Frequencies per year**

	2015	2016	2017
HIF	10	8	4
PF	4	4	1
SF	3	2	2
MOR	2	5	1
ILL	9	11	2
LOC	3	5	2
OTH	4	5	3
CRI	3	6	2
ECO	7	4	3
FULL	4	3	1
CRAT	2	0	2
CRPO	5	6	5
HUM	3	2	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>28</b>



Table 4.2. Frequencies per newspaper

	De Telegraaf	Algemeen Dagblad	Trouw	NRC Handelsblad	De Volkskrant
HIF	2	5	4	7	4
PF	2	1	2	2	4
SF	0	1	0	1	3
MOR	0	3	5	0	0
ILL	3	5	4	5	5
LOC	2	3	1	2	2
OTH	3	3	1	3	3
CRI	4	1	3	1	2
ECO	3	2	2	7	1
FULL	1	2	2	2	1
CRAT	1	0	1	1	1
CRPO	2	0	4	5	5
HUM	0	0	2	0	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>34</b>

Table 4.3. Frequencies per year per newspaper

	De Telegraaf			Algemeen Dagblad			Trouw		
	2015	16	17	15	16	17	15	16	17
HIF	1	1	0	1	3	1	2	2	0
PF	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
SF	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
MOR	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	4	1
ILL	2	1	0	2	2	1	2	2	0
LOC	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	1
OTH	0	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0
CRI	1	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	0
ECO	1	2	0	1	0	1	1	1	0
FULL	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	0
CRAT	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
CRPO	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1
HUM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0

	NRC Handelsblad			Volkskrant		
	2015	16	17	15	16	17
HIF	3	2	2	3	0	1
PF	0	2	0	1	1	1
SF	1	0	0	2	1	1
MOR	0	0	0	0	0	0
ILL	2	3	0	1	3	1
LOC	1	1	0	1	1	0
OTH	2	0	1	1	1	1
CRI	0	1	0	0	2	0
ECO	3	1	3	1	0	0
FULL	1	1	0	0	1	0
CRAT	0	0	1	0	0	1
CRPO	1	2	2	2	2	1
HUM	0	0	0	3	0	0

## 5. Conclusion

### 5.1 The decrease of framing in Dutch newspapers

When answering the following research question: *How are refugees being represented in the five major Dutch newspapers during the period between January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 and December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017?* a few main findings come to light. Both the intruder frames and the victim frames have decreased over the period of 2015 - 2017. This means that newspapers rely or frames less for their articles than in previous years. This decrease could be explained by the fact that people might be more aware of framing than a few years ago. There are many researches published about framing which creates a greater awareness. This was also shown by the responses on the letter that Mark Rutte wrote about minorities. The public responded to this negative framing of migrants and immediately asked for further explanation.

Murray (1986) stated that anti-racist messages are being ignored, which causes negative frames to be more apparent in the media. This can be countered by the findings of this research which indicate that the human interest frame is one of the most frequently used frames. In NRC Handelsblad, Trouw and Algemeen Dagblad this frame is mostly used and overall it comes in second place, right after the illegitimacy of refugees frame which is most frequently used. The critic on refugees policies frame is the only frame that has a slight increase over the years. This shows that newspapers dare to show more criticism towards politicians and regulations regarding refugees. The statement by van Dijk (1989) that there are no dominant counter ideologies that disapprove the negative frames can thus be countered by these findings.

While the human interest frame is very popular in newspapers, the most frequently used frame is the illegitimacy of refugees frame. This intruder frame, just as any other negative frame, discusses the refugees as being distant from the rest of the Dutch population and generalizes refugees, migrants and asylum seekers as one homogeneous group. The distancing of refugees is known as the us/them divide, which has been recognized in Dutch newspapers by previous researches. Hamming (2012) stated that the Dutch newspapers have a clear us/them divide in their articles through the use of framing. Looking at the results, it can be seen that the three most frequently used negative frames are the illegitimacy of refugees frame, the refugees as a criminal element frame and the refugees as an economic threat frame. All of these frames discuss the differences between refugees and other Dutch citizens, by highlighting negative aspects of refugees. The threat to local and national integrity frame looks at the cultural differences

between refugees and non-refugees and makes a clear distinguish between those differences. This frame is known to have the greatest amount of us/them divide in its description of refugees. When looking at the numbers, it can be seen that this frame is only being used 10 times over the period of 2015 - 2017. An increase in the use of the threat to local and national integrity frame can be seen in the year 2016. In the same year most of the intruder frames increased in popularity, except for the too full frame, economic threat frame and the dehumanizing frame. This means that the us/them divide was most apparent in the newspapers in the year 2016. The Dutch political parties also started their election programs in this year, which could be a cause of this growing tendency for the us/them divide. As explained in the previous chapter, the ethnocentrism grows when getting closer to the elections. Especially since a lot of political parties had migration as one of the most important topics in the election program. The statement made by Hamming (2012) can thus be confirmed by this research, the us/them divide is clearly represented in the Dutch newspapers.

The popularity of the intruder frames in the newspapers also confirms the tension towards negativism and sensationalism as explained by Rothbart (1981). Despite the fact that the intruder frames are decreasing over the years, they are still more apparent in the newspapers than the victim frames. Looking at the individual frames, it can be seen that most intruder frames have increasing in 2016, while almost all the victim frames are decreasing in the same period. The claim about the trend towards negativism and sensationalism can thus be confirmed by these findings.

Comparing the newspapers' political orientation and the frames being found in the articles, it can be seen that there is no clear tendency towards a frame for left or right wing newspapers. Trouw and de Volkskrant are both left winged newspapers and have the illegitimacy of refugees frame as most popular frame. Besides this frame, Trouw also has the human interest frame as most popular. Algemeen Dagblad, NRC Handelsblad and de Telegraaf all have different frames as being most popular.

Taking all this information into account, it can be stated that refugees are mostly represented as intruders in five Dutch newspapers in the period from January 1<sup>st</sup> 2015 until December 31<sup>st</sup> 2017. This is caused by mainly three different elements. The first one being the fact that the most popular frames are mainly intruder frames, with the illegitimacy of refugees frame being the most frequently used. The second fact is that most of the intruder frames were

increasing in the period of 2015-2016, while most of the victim frames were decreasing in the same period. The only victim frame that could keep up with the popularity of the intruder frames is the human interest frame. Moreover, the morality frame has increased in the period between 2015-2016. However, these positive frames are often combined with a negative intruder frame when being used in an article. This leads to the third element, which is that the positive frames are mostly combined with negative frames, while the negative frames frequently occur with other negative frames in the same article. A positive note in this is that the intruder frames are decreasing, just as the victim frames. This means that it might be that when looking at 2017 in total, the intruder frames might have lost more of their popularity.

## 5.2 The effects of framing in Dutch newspapers

Knowing that refugees are mostly presented as intruders in the Dutch newspapers, there are some consequences to this that can be stated. The first one being that the readers of these newspapers might have the feeling that the refugee discussion is overly represented in the newspapers. This due to the fact that negative stories are being memorized better than positive stories. A response to this is a growing fear towards refugees and seeing immigration as a bigger problem than it might be. Another effect could be that these frames promote the growth of the so called new racism as explained by Teo (2000). This form of racism is more subtle and uses stereotypes and negative connotations to create a negative image of refugees. However, it must be noted that the intruder frames are decreasing, which might cause this form of racism in the print media also to decrease. The practical implications of these outcomes for society could be that refugees have a harder time concerning their integration in the Dutch society. As explained by Horsti (2013), refugees tend to form their identity around the hostility themes found in the media. Especially the 'us' versus 'them' divide, as described by Parker (2015), will make the refugees feel like they do not belong to the country. Since this divide is present in the Dutch newspapers, together with a high amount of negative frames, the assumption can be made that this will affect the own perception of the refugees. Since discourses provided by the mass media provide a basis in people's thoughts about ethnic groups, the readers of the newspapers might have a more negative view on refugees (Coronel, 2002). As van Dijk (2012) explains, news media coverage may lead to the reproduction of prejudice, racism and inequality in society. Especially with more negative news articles, people will perceive refugees as more problematic (Kroon et al., 2016). This could also affect politics, since politicians are also affected by the news media.

However, there are not only negative effects concerning negative intruder frames in the Dutch newspaper. A positive effect might be that it sparks discussion which might lead to new insights. The growing awareness of framing among Dutch citizens causes the rise of criticism towards negative stories. Taking the Mark Rutte case as an example, it can be seen that this negative response leads to a change in behavior of the prime minister. After reading all the criticism and comments he concluded that he should have used more nuance in his generalizing letter. These critical responses also showed that the audience is becoming more active rather than being passive and following everything that is being said in the media. The human interest frame being the second most used frame in the Dutch newspapers, also shows that the negative frames are being countered with positive stories of refugees. Since this frame is focusing on the emotion of people, the effects might also be significant. The practical implications of these positive outcomes on society could be that people are more aware of framing and more able to counter it, as has been shown by the letter of the prime minister. This could lead to a wave of support for refugees, through which they get a more positive feeling concerning their integration. As discussed by Chong & Druckman (2007), discussion and debates in the media may lead to new insights. The awareness of framing, could also affect politics, as politicians will be more aware of the implications and effects of their actions. Taking the prime minister as an example, the assumption could be made that he would not make the same mistake in taking such a negative stance concerning immigration again.

### 5.3 Limitations and future research

There are a few limitations to this study worth mentioning. The first limitation is the small dataset. Only 12 articles of every newspaper have been analyzed over a period of three years. The conclusions being drawn from this data might not represent the complete representation of refugees in the media. The small data set limits the external validity of the findings and gives no possibility for generalizations. It is difficult to determine the impact of the outcomes in real life. This data set was chosen due to time constraints, but for future research it might be better to have a bigger amount of articles being analyzed.

Another limitation is that this content analysis is a descriptive analysis. A description is given about the patterns occurring in the newspapers, however it has not been stated why these patterns occur. Moreover, this research is limited by the availability of material. The trends that have been observed in the newspapers, may not reflect the reality. This should be kept in mind

when drawing conclusions from this research.

For future research it might be interesting to focus on the effects of framing. The effects are now being linked to the frames by using previous researches than analyzed effects. By not analyzing the effects in this research, it might be that the frames had a different effect than proposed by previous research. Furthermore, the readers of the newspapers all have different viewpoints, since all of the newspapers have a different political orientation. To examine what the effects might be on these various groups will also be interesting. The link between political orientation and the effect of frames might give different insight than looking at the general effects of frames. In this research the link between political orientation and the frames occurring are briefly mentioned by examining the frames per newspaper. However, it could be interesting to analyze multiple newspaper with the same orientation to see if the same frames occur.



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## Appendix A

### FRAMING OF REFUGEES CODEBOOK

Joelle Boekhold

06/07/2018

**Unit of Data Collection:** Each article being used for this research, published in one of the five newspapers. In total 60 newspapers are used as data, 12 from every newspaper. These articles are all involved in the discussion about refugees in the Netherlands. When judging these articles the coder will solely focus on the frames being used.

**Coding instructions:** For all coding, use only the information available to you as a viewer (do not use information you might have as a reader of the newspaper or from other articles from the newspaper). When more than 1 frame is being used in the article, mention both of them.

## Content analysis codebook

**Unit of Analysis:** Each news article, excluding visuals (such as photographs, illustrations or charts)

1. **Page number:** Indicate the page number for that particular article in the following fashion: ‘Page 1 of 3’ when there are three pages total.
2. **Article ID:** Each newspaper has its own identifier. De Telegraaf (DT), Algemeen Dagblad (AD), Trouw (TR), NRC (NR), de Volkskrant (DV). The First article of de Telegraaf would be DT-1.
3. **Coder ID:** Indicate the name of the individual who coded the article according to their initials. Joelle Boekhold (JB) or Mieke van Veen (MV)
4. **Date:** Enter the date of the newspaper as mm/dd/yy
5. **Headline:** Enter the headline exactly as it appears. If the headline consists of a lead headline, followed by a sub-headline, enter them both, separated with a colon.
6. **Newspaper:** Indicate which newspaper the article was printed with.
  - 1 = de Telegraaf
  - 2 = Algemeen Dagblad
  - 3 = Trouw
  - 4 = NRC
  - 5 = de Volkskrant

**Frames:** After reading each article, choose if the following frames are present or absent. Look for key phrases and questions listed under each frame.

- 1 = The frame is present in the article  
2 = The frame is not present in the article

### 7. Human interest frame (HIF)

- Does the story provide a human example or human face on the issue
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy-caring, sympathy or compassion?

## **8. Positive frame (PF)**

- Are economic issues around refugees referred to as economically beneficial?
- Are refugees discussed as being beneficial or a positive attribute to society?
- Are positive consequences for the labour market concerning refugees discussed?
- Are facts and numbers being given about the positive contribution of refugees to society?
- Are cultural differences between refugees and non refugees described in a positive way?

## **9. Support frame (SF)**

- Are refugees and migration discussed in terms of moral issues?
- Is there a reference to different types of legal rights and humanitarian rights of refugees?
- Is a link being given to refugees and racism?
- Is there a clear anti-racism speech in the article?
- Is reference being made to humanitarian organizations and their role in the refugee discussion?

## **10. Morality frame (MOR)**

- Does the story contain any moral message?
- Does the story make reference to morality, God and other religious tenets?
- Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?
- Is a positive outcome given on the social prescriptions described in the text?
- Is the focus of the text on activating the reader to help supporting the refugees with their integration?

## **11. The illegitimacy of refugees (ILL)**

- Are the words refugee, immigrant and others being used inconsistently?
- Are refugees fleeing for war confused with economic refugees?
- Is the cause of the refugee 'crisis' being explained as an external factor, not a political factor?
- Are refugees themselves seen as a cause of the 'problem'?
- Are facts concerning refugees described as illegal?

## **12. The threat to national or local integrity (LOC)**

- Is the preservation of national boundaries and national culture discussed?
- Are the refugees discussed involving their cultural habits?
- Are elements of the refugees' culture discussed that could harm the Dutch culture?
- Is the Dutch culture being seen as superior?
- Is the culture of the refugees being criticized from solely a Dutch cultural viewpoint?

### **13. The ‘other’ as contaminant (OTH)**

- Are refugees discussed involving extremism in religion?
- Are apparent stereotypes being used in the article?
- Are generalizations about refugees made based on one story?
- Are all refugees referred to as Muslims?
- Is the religion of refugees seen as the core problem in the discussion?

### **14. Refugees as a criminal element (CRI)**

- Are refugees discussed as a security threat?
- Are criminal records of refugees discussed?
- Are refugees linked to different crimes?
- Are refugees in articles mentioned with their background (Muslim, Syrian, African, etc) when discussing a crime?
- Are crimes being committed by refugees being over exaggerated in the articles?

### **15. Refugees as an economic threat (ECO)**

- Is there a mention of financial losses now or in the future?
- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
- Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing course of action?
- Are the costs of the Netherlands compared to other European countries who take in refugees?
- Are refugees being criticized due to their unemployment?

### **16. Too full (FULL)**

- Are refugees being discussed as being a ‘flood’?
- Are the numbers of refugees coming to the Netherlands mentioned linked to incapacity of the Netherlands to shelter these refugees?
- Are AZC’s discussed linked to nuisance?
- Are stories being discussed where the nuisance of refugees is being told?
- Are refugees being seen as the problem of some Dutch people not owning a house?

### **17. Critic on attitude Dutch citizens (CRAT)**

- Are Dutch people being criticized in their responses to refugees?
- Are stories in other articles being criticized?
- Are Dutch politicians being criticized on their public statements?
- Are claims made by Dutch people being rejected by giving facts and numbers?
- Are generalizations given about Dutch attitudes towards refugees?

### **18. Critic on refugee policies (CRPO)**

- Are policies made to control the refugee inflow being criticized as not being effective?
- Is there a reference to stories where refugees were harmed by policies?
- Is Europe being criticized for their regulations with other countries?
- Are local and national policies being criticized focusing on the incapability of Dutch politicians?
- Are refugee policies being seen as cause of a problem in the refugee discussion?

### **19. Dehumanizing (HUM)**

- Are refugees being discussed as being property or profits?
- Are refugees being mentioned in metaphors or sentences related to animals? E.g. caught like a rat or a web of refugees.
- Are words like capture, entrapment or hunt being used related to refugees?
- Are refugees constructed as the enemy and not equal to other Dutch citizens?
- Are refugees de-individualized by the newspapers? E.g. being discussed as one big group with all the same characteristics.



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 1 of 120 Article ID DT-1 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Boosheid en tranen over vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 2 of 120 Article ID DT-2 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Calais is migranten zat; Criminaliteit, irritatie en dalende omzetten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 3 of 120 Article ID DT-3 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: 'IJdele hulphype voegt niet toe'; Kritiek op vele burgerinitiatieven voor vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 4 of 120 Article ID DT-4 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Ik vond dat we iets mosten doen'; Amsterdamse meiden helpen vluchtelingen op Lesbos

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 5 of 120 Article ID DT-5 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Italië wil iedereen laten doorreizen; Europa kan het niet eens worden over opname 40.000 vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 6 of 120 Article ID DT-6 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Kansloze asielplaag ongehinderd verder

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 7 of 120 Article ID DT-7 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Opvang migrant in Libië'

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 8 of 120 Article ID DT-8 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: **Opvang vluchteling binnen de perken**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 9 of 120 Article ID DT-9 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Tijd om migranten te gaan opvoeden

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 10 of 120 Article ID DT-10 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 11 of 120 Article ID DT-11 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: EU huurt huizen voor vluchtelingen Griekenland**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 12 of 120 Article ID DT-12 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Migrantenkind krijgt zelden diagnose dyslexie**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 13 of 120 Article ID DT-1 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Boosheid en tranen over vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 14 of 120 Article ID DT-2 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Calais is migranten zat; Criminaliteit, irritatie en dalende omzetten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 15 of 120 Article ID DT-3 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: 'IJdele hulphype voegt niet toe'; Kritiek op vele burgerinitiatieven voor vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 16 of 120 Article ID DT-4 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Ik vond dat we iets mosten doen'; Amsterdamse meiden helpen vluchtelingen op Lesbos

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 17 of 120 Article ID DT-5 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Italië wil iedereen laten doorreizen; Europa kan het niet eens worden over opname 40.000 vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 18 of 120 Article ID DT-6 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Kansloze asielplaag ongehinderd verder**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 19 of 120 Article ID DT-7 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Opvang migrant in Libië'

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 20 of 120 Article ID DT-8 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Opvang vluchteling binnen de perken**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 21 of 120 Article ID DT-9 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: **Tijd om migranten te gaan opvoeden**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 22 of 120 Article ID DT-10 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 23 of 120 Article ID DT-11 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: EU huurt huizen voor vluchtelingen Griekenland**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 24 of 120 Article ID DT-12 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Migrantenkind krijgt zelden diagnose dyslexie**

<b>Newspaper</b>	1
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 25 of 120 Article ID AD-1 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Een stap buiten de kerk en migrant is de klos

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 26 of 120 Article ID AD-2 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: De grenzen moeten dicht voor economische migranten

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 27 of 120 Article ID AD-3 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Europa heeft migranten hard nodig**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 28 of 120 Article ID AD-4 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Europa niet 'winterklaar' voor alle vluchtelingen

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 29 of 120 Article ID AD-5 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: **Gelaten sloffen ze in Turkije van de veerboot**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 30 of 120 Article ID AD-6 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Kamer vrij? Neem vluchteling in huis

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 31 of 120 Article ID AD-7 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Met vluchtelingen naast de deur doen ze geen oog dicht'

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 32 of 120 Article ID AD-8 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: **Nog geen tent te zien op veld voor 72.000 vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 33 of 120 Article ID AD-9 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Terug met de veerboot is geen ei van Columbus

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 34 of 120 Article ID AD-10 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling moet homo accepteren**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 35 of 120 Article ID AD-11 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

Headline: **Aantal Syrische asielzoekers verdubbeld door gezinshereniging**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 36 of 120 Article ID AD-12 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

Headline: **Stroom economische vluchtelingen zorgt voor irritatie in Hoek van Holland**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 37 of 120 Article ID AD-1 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Een stap buiten de kerk en migrant is de klos

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 38 of 120 Article ID AD-2 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: **De grenzen moeten dicht voor economische migranten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 39 of 120 Article ID AD-3 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Europa heeft migranten hard nodig**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 40 of 120 Article ID AD-4 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Europa niet 'winterklaar' voor alle vluchtelingen

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 41 of 120 Article ID AD-5 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: Gelaten sloffen ze in Turkije van de veerboot

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 42 of 120 Article ID AD-6 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Kamer vrij? Neem vluchteling in huis**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 43 of 120 Article ID AD-7 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Met vluchtelingen naast de deur doen ze geen oog dicht'

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 44 of 120 Article ID AD-8 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Nog geen tent te zien op veld voor 72.000 vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 45 of 120 Article ID AD-9 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Terug met de veerboot is geen ei van Columbus**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 46 of 120 Article ID AD-10 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling moet homo accepteren**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 47 of 120 Article ID AD-11 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

Headline: **Aantal Syrische asielzoekers verdubbeld door gezinshereniging**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 48 of 120 Article ID AD-12 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

Headline: **Stroom economische vluchtelingen zorgt voor irritatie in Hoek van Holland**

<b>Newspaper</b>	2
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 49 of 120 Article ID TR-1 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Dagelijks een stoet migranten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 50 of 120 Article ID TR-2 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: 'Europa kan deze immigratie niet aan'

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 51 of 120 Article ID TR-3 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Italië eist hulp bij opvang vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 52 of 120 Article ID TR-4 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: Migratie zal hoe dan ook pijn doen

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 53 of 120 Article ID TR-5 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Ook voor vluchteling waait een nieuwe Griekse wind**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 54 of 120 Article ID TR-6 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Speuren naar vluchtelingen tussen twee kemphanen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 55 of 120 Article ID TR-7 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Sponsor je eigen vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 56 of 120 Article ID TR-8 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Steun de landen die wel vluchtelingen opnemen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 57 of 120 Article ID TR-9 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: Werk helpt vluchteling en schatkist

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 58 of 120 Article ID TR-10 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Zie immigranten ondanks alle verschillen als mens**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 59 of 120 Article ID TR-11 Coder ID JB Date 15-06-2018

Headline: Nog nooit waren er wereldwijd zoveel vluchtelingen als nu

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 60 of 120 Article ID TR-12 Coder ID JB Date 15-06-2018

**Headline: Vluchtelingen zijn ons als opdracht gegeven**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 61 of 120 Article ID TR-1 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Dagelijks een stoet migranten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 62 of 120 Article ID TR-2 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: 'Europa kan deze immigratie niet aan'

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 63 of 120 Article ID TR-3 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Italië eist hulp bij opvang vluchtelingen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 64 of 120 Article ID TR-4 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: Migratie zal hoe dan ook pijn doen

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 65 of 120 Article ID TR-5 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Ook voor vluchteling waait een nieuwe Griekse wind**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 66 of 120 Article ID TR-6 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Speuren naar vluchtelingen tussen twee kemphanen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 67 of 120 Article ID TR-7 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Sponsor je eigen vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 68 of 120 Article ID TR-8 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Steun de landen die wel vluchtelingen opnemen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 69 of 120 Article ID TR-9 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: Werk helpt vluchteling en schatkist

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 70 of 120 Article ID TR-10 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Zie immigranten ondanks alle verschillen als mens**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 71 of 120 Article ID TR-11 Coder ID MV Date 15-06-2018

Headline: Nog nooit waren er wereldwijd zoveel vluchtelingen als nu

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 72 of 120 Article ID TR-12 Coder ID MV Date 15-06-2018

**Headline: Vluchtelingen zijn ons als opdracht gegeven**

<b>Newspaper</b>	3
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	1
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 73 of 120 Article ID NRC-1 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Alleen de echte vluchteling is welkom**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 74 of 120 Article ID NRC-2 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Dublin-deal over vluchtelingen en asiel is idioot'

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 75 of 120 Article ID NRC-3 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Europa, stop met mauwen, legale migratie is een zegen'

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 76 of 120 Article ID NRC-4 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Natuurlijk kun je migratie stoppen!'

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 77 of 120 Article ID NRC-5 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Ook de oma van Geert Wilders was een vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 78 of 120 Article ID NRC-6 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Realitycheck: vluchteling blijven vluchten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 79 of 120 Article ID NRC-7 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling, asielzoeker of migrant: een beladen keuze**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 80 of 120 Article ID NRC-8 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling kiest zijn bestemming uit een folder**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 81 of 120 Article ID NRC-9 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vroeger distribueerden we vluchtelingen per cruiseschip**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 82 of 120 Article ID NRC-10 Coder ID JB Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: VVD sjort aan verdrag vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 83 of 120 Article ID NRC-11 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Erken migratiecrisis als grote tragedie van deze tijd – en doe er iets aan**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 84 of 120 Article ID NRC-12 Coder ID JB Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Nee Lubbers, we hebben geen vluchtelingen nodig**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 85 of 120 Article ID NRC-1 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Alleen de echte vluchteling is welkom**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 86 of 120 Article ID NRC-2 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: 'Dublin-deal over vluchtelingen en asiel is idioot'**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 87 of 120 Article ID NRC-3 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

Headline: 'Europa, stop met mauwen, legale migratie is een zegen'

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 88 of 120 Article ID NRC-4 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: 'Natuurlijk kun je migratie stoppen!'**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 89 of 120 Article ID NRC-5 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Ook de oma van Geert Wilders was een vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 90 of 120 Article ID NRC-6 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Realitycheck: vluchteling blijven vluchten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 91 of 120 Article ID NRC-7 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling, asielzoeker of migrant: een beladen keuze**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 92 of 120 Article ID NRC-8 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling kiest zijn bestemming uit een folder**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 93 of 120 Article ID NRC-9 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: Vroeger distribueerden we vluchtelingen per cruiseschip**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 94 of 120 Article ID NRC-10 Coder ID MV Date 13-05-2017

**Headline: VVD sjort aan verdrag vluchteling**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 95 of 120 Article ID NRC-11 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Erken migratiecrisis als grote tragedie van deze tijd – en doe er iets aan**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 96 of 120 Article ID NRC-12 Coder ID MV Date 13-06-2018

**Headline: Nee Lubbers, we hebben geen vluchtelingen nodig**

<b>Newspaper</b>	4
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 97 of 120 Article ID DV-1 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: De Siciliaanse maffia leeft op dankzij immigranten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 98 of 120 Article ID DV-2 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: **Het nieuwe taboe: iets positiefs over migratie zeggen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 99 of 120 Article ID DV-3 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Leveren deze vluchtelingen de schatkist juist wat op?**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 100 of 120 Article ID DV-4 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Migranten geven nooit op, ze graven desnoods een tunnel. De methoden om te vluchten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 101 of 120 Article ID DV-5 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Migratie verlamt Europa**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 102 of 120 Article ID DV-6 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: 'Minder, minder, minder... behalve als het 'echte' vluchtelingen zijn'

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 103 of 120 Article ID DV-7 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Op Griekse eilanden schieten bewoners migranten te hulp**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 104 of 120 Article ID DV-8 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

Headline: **Syriër kan niet illegaal en vluchteling zijn**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 105 of 120 Article ID DV-9 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling steeds minder welkom**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 106 of 120 Article ID DV-10 Coder ID JB Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Willen we minder of meer vluchtelingen?**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 107 of 120 Article ID DV-11 Coder ID JB Date 15-06-2018

**Headline: Miljoenen extra voor opvang in de regio, nu minder vluchtelingen naar Nederland komen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 108 of 120 Article ID DV-12 Coder ID JB Date 15-06-2018

Headline: **Werkelijkheid van 2017, dwingt tot herbezinning op vluchtelingenverdrag**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 109 of 120 Article ID DV-1 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: De Siciliaanse maffia leeft op dankzij immigranten

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 110 of 120 Article ID DV-2 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: **Het nieuwe taboe: iets positiefs over migratie zeggen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	1
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 111 of 120 Article ID DV-3 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Leveren deze vluchtelingen de schatkist juist wat op?**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 112 of 120 Article ID DV-4 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Migranten geven nooit op, ze graven desnoods een tunnel. De methoden om te vluchten**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2



**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 113 of 120 Article ID DV-5 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Migratie verlamt Europa**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 114 of 120 Article ID DV-6 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: 'Minder, minder, minder... behalve als het 'echte' vluchtelingen zijn'

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	1
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	1
<b>FULL</b>	1
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 115 of 120 Article ID DV-7 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Op Griekse eilanden schieten bewoners migranten te hulp**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	1
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	1

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 116 of 120 Article ID DV-8 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

Headline: Syriër kan niet illegaal en vluchteling zijn

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 117 of 120 Article ID DV-9 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Vluchteling steeds minder welkom**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	1
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	1
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 118 of 120 Article ID DV-10 Coder ID MV Date 15-05-2017

**Headline: Willen we minder of meer vluchtelingen?**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	1
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 119 of 120 Article ID DV-11 Coder ID MV Date 15-06-2018

**Headline: Miljoenen extra voor opvang in de regio, nu minder vluchtelingen naar Nederland komen**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	1
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	1
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	2
<b>HUM</b>	2

**Framing of refugees Coding Form 2018**

Page 120 of 120 Article ID DV-12 Coder ID MV Date 15-06-2018

**Headline: Werkelijkheid van 2017, dwingt tot herbezinning op vluchtelingenverdrag**

<b>Newspaper</b>	5
<b>HIF</b>	2
<b>PF</b>	2
<b>SF</b>	2
<b>MOR</b>	2
<b>ILL</b>	2
<b>LOC</b>	2
<b>OTH</b>	2
<b>CRI</b>	2
<b>ECO</b>	2
<b>FULL</b>	2
<b>CRAT</b>	2
<b>CRPO</b>	1
<b>HUM</b>	2



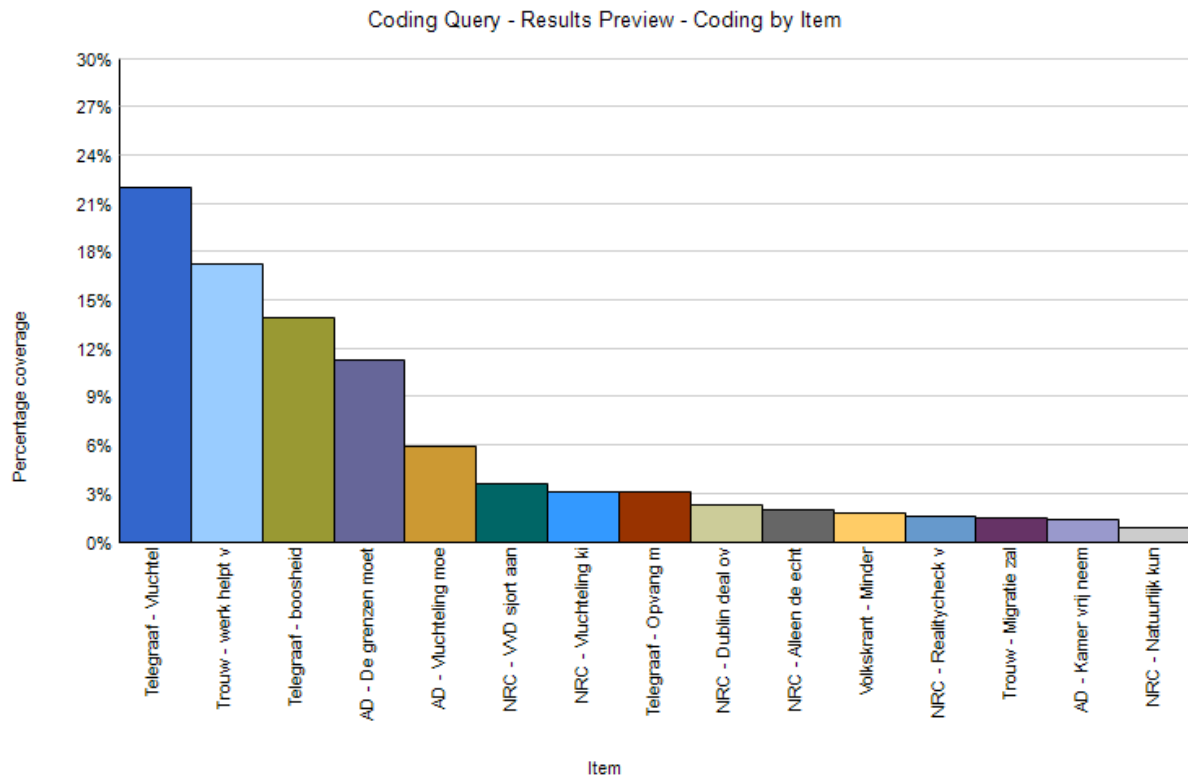
## Appendix B: Overview frames

Table 1 Frame matrix for the asylum issue with their representative reasoning and framing devices

Type of asylum-seeker	Role of asylum-seeker	Problem definition	Problem source	Responsibility	Policy solution	Moral and emotional basis	Metaphor/stereotype	Lexical choices	Visuals
Refugees according to a broad interpretation of the definition of the UNHCR (1)	Passive / need of help (2) and people who frequently fall into the hands of human traffickers (3)	How to receive refugees who are victims of persecution and other kinds of harm (4) and who are forced to leave their country? (1)	Violence, persecution, poverty (5) and the gap between rich and poor countries (6)	Borne by democratic countries (on the basis of e.g. the Geneva Convention) (6)	A humane (7) and a flexibly and cautiously applied (8) asylum policy	The moral duty to help people in affliction (9). Emotion: compassion (10)	Metaphors: shelter (11), hunting (12), forrest Europe (13), gate (14). Stereotype: helpless and anxious victims (15)	'The enemy is waiting in the children (15); homeland'; 'returning home = death' (16). Terminology: refugee (17), documenta-tion (18)	Families with pictures that represent distress, fear and misery (10)
The would-be asylum-seeker who abuses the right to seek asylum (A)	Active / adventurer or criminal who resorts to illicit practices (B) and makes a deal with human smugglers (C)	How to stop people who form a threat to 'our' culture, achievements and social services (D)?	A lax asylum and deportation policy (E)	Borne by policy-makers; and the asylum-seekers themselves (F)	Deportation of asylum-seekers and a discourse oriented towards discourage-ment (G)	Protect the interests of the native people (H). Emotion: xenophobia; aversion to (I) strangers	Metaphors: flood (K), garbage (L). Stereotype: the dangerous stranger (M)	'The degeneration of the neighbour-hood' (N); 'Belgium can't be the world's Public Centre for Social Welfare' (O). Terminology: [would-be] asylum-seeker (P)	A batch of asylum-seekers (K), especially single men
<i>Intruder-frame</i>									
<i>Victim-frame</i>									

## Appendix C: Nvivo outputs

### Appendix C1



### Appendix C2

Item	Percentage coverage
Internals\AD - De grenzen moeten dicht voor economisch	11,31%
Internals\AD - Kamer vrij neem vluchteling in huis	1,45%
Internals\AD - Vluchteling moet homo accepteren	5,92%
Internals\NRC - Alleen de echte vluchteling is welkom	1,99%
Internals\NRC - Dublin deal over migranten	2,31%
Internals\NRC - Natuurlijk kun je migratie stoppen	0,92%
Internals\NRC - Realitycheck vluchtelingen blijven vluchten	1,63%
Internals\NRC - Vluchteling kiest zijn bestemming uit een f	3,16%
Internals\NRC - VVD sjoert aan verdrag vluchteling	3,61%
Internals\Telegraaf - boosheid en tranen over vluchteling	13,94%
Internals\Telegraaf - Opvang migrant in Libie	3,16%
Internals\Telegraaf - Vluchtelingen	21,97%
Internals\Trouw - Migratie zal hoe dan ook pijn doen	1,51%
Internals\Trouw - werk helpt vluchteling en schatkist	17,28%
Internals\Volkskrant - Minder minder minder	1,80%

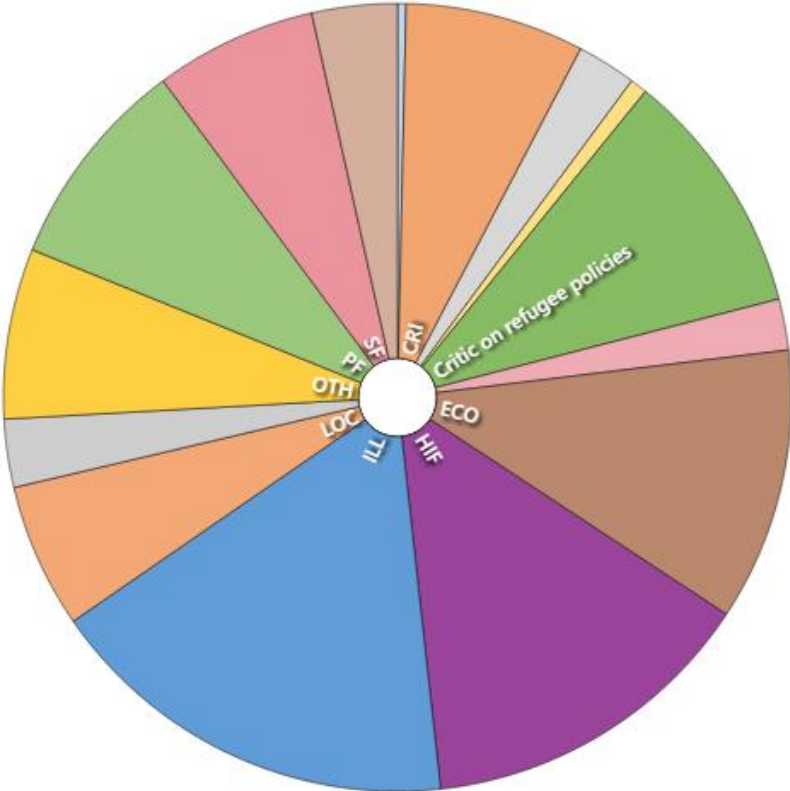
## Appendix C3



## Appendix C4

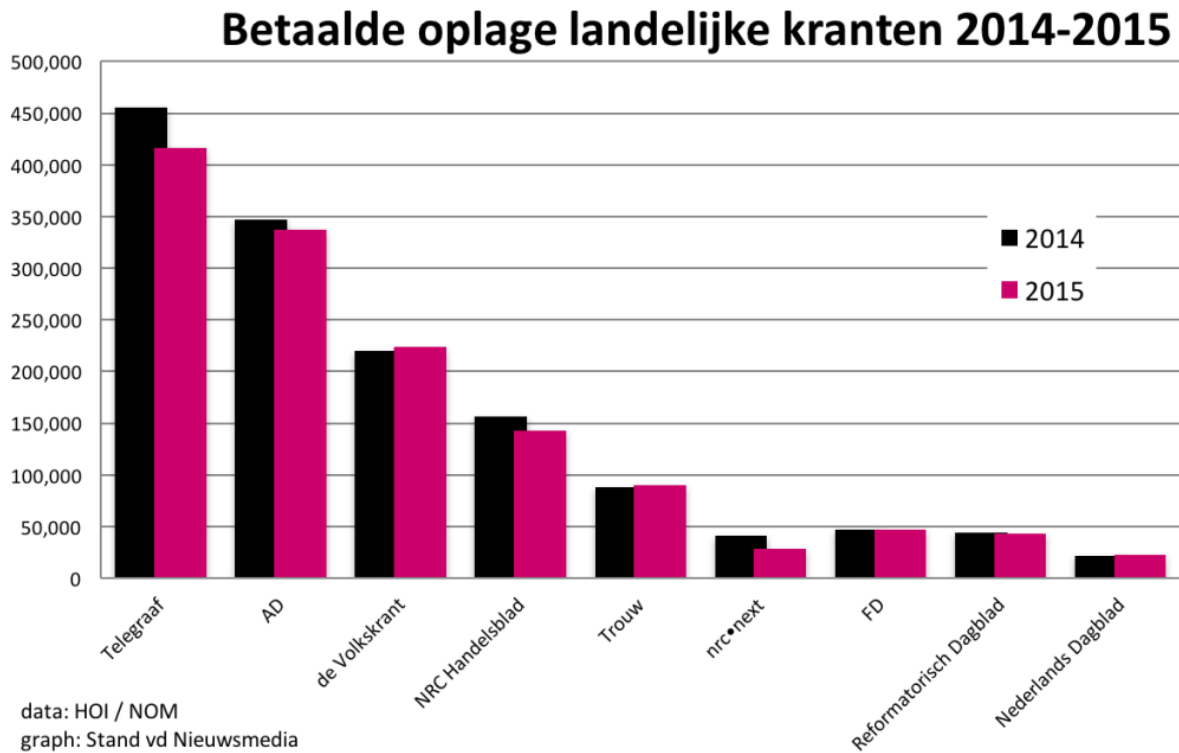
Codes	Number of coding references	Aggregate number of coding references	Number of items coded	Aggregate number of items coded
Nodes\CRI	21	21	11	11
Nodes\Critic on attitude Dutch people	7	7	4	4
Nodes\Critic on refugee policies	29	29	16	16
Nodes\Dehumanizing	6	6	4	4
Nodes\ECO	32	32	16	16
Nodes\HIF	40	40	24	24
Nodes\ILL	49	49	23	23
Nodes\LOC	17	17	10	10
Nodes\MOR	8	8	8	8
Nodes\OTH	20	20	13	13
Nodes\PF	25	25	9	9
Nodes\SF	19	19	8	8
Nodes\Too full	10	10	7	7

Appendix C5



## Appendix D: Readership newspapers 2015-2016

### Appendix D1



### Appendix D2

